DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 163 998 IR 006 793

AUTHOR Lerner, Daniel, Ed.
TITLE Asian Communication: Research, Training, Planning.
INSTITUTION Hawaii Univ., Honolulu. East-West Center.
PUB DATE Dec 76
NOTE 132p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$7.35 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Asian Studies; Case Studies; Comparative Analysis; Developing Nations; Economic Factors; *Information Networks; *International Studies; Mass Media; News Media; *Program Planning; *Teaching Models; *Telecommunication
IDENTIFIERS Burma; Malaysia, Thailand; Pakistan; Philippines

ABSTRACT

A selection of eight papers on Asian communication is presented for the purpose of alerting communication researchers to significant work being done outside of the academic community. Topics include (1) a Malaysian experience in using commercial resources for audience research, (2) a content analysis model of the Pakistani press, (3) the provincial press and national development in Malaysia and the Philippines, (4) a comparative analysis of the mass communications systems of Burma, Malaysia, and Thailand, (5) teaching and training in building the Asian Communications Network, (6) national planning and telecommunications in the Asia/Pacific context, (7) economics of communication technology, and (8) Asian contexts for development communication. (CMV)

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ASIAN COMMUNICATION

Research, Training, Planning

Daniel Lerner, Editor

December 1976

East-West Communication Institute

East-West Center

Honolulu, Hawaii

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FOREWORD

The idea for this selection of papers on Asian Communication originated in a seminar chaired by Harold D. Lasswell, whose pathbreaking Propaganda Technique in World War I was first published in 1927, and who is widely regarded as the intellectual sire of modern communication research. Hence, it is appropriate that the papers selected should reflect Lasswell's many and varied contributions to this field--contributions which range from comparative content analysis (invented by Lasswell and exemplified here by Fulton, Blackburn, and Hitchcock), planning and training (Rao and Spence), to contextual thinking about communication (Lamberton and Lerner).

The impetus needed to carry this idea forward was Lasswell's lecture at the East-West Communication Institute, published as "The Future of World Communication: Quality and Style of Life" (EWCI Paper No. 4). In it he stressed the advent of the first truly operational "world communication network." Some observers had spoken of such a network for several centuries (to wit, the American Declaration of Independence justified itself just 200 years ago in terms of "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind"), and the electronic media had been building toward it over many generations. But only the installation of global satellites, in the past decade, created the first network that could actually produce instantaneous, simultaneous, and continuous communication over world-wide circuits. Several EWCI conferences have stressed the need to clarify the impact of these recent innovations on Asia.

The urgency of our need to understand the operations, and particularly the effects, of the new global network, led us to rethink the scope of communication research. The need was particularly great in Asia, where the new technology is rapidly transforming even the "old media" of print, radio, film, and telecommunications. The search for new sources of relevant and reliable information showed that much communication research of great value was being done around the world outside of, and without adequate recognition by, the academic community.

In particular, valuable studies were being produced by governmental agencies (both national and international), by voluntary associations (both local and regional), and by private corporations (both national and multinational). The main purpose of this publication is to alert the world community of communication researchers to the importance of these sources by presenting a selection from their recent work. Thereby we hope to promote more sustained interaction in the future.

One important source of communication research is the unclassified work produced by Americans attached to our embassies abroad, and in particular by those people in Cultural Affairs (CU) and in the United States Information Service (USIS). They are often the most knowledgable persons about the communication situation in their countries abroad and sometimes produce the best research findings available. But their studies usually are available only to occasional academics passing through their countries. An example is the mine of information available in the USIS office at the American Embassy in Japan. Three members of its staff, when I visited there in 1973, had produced studies of Asian communication--ranging from Pakistan to the Philippines--that richly merited publication. These are the papers herein by Paul Blackburn, Barry Fulton, and David Hitchcock, Jr.

A second set of communication researchers whose findings are inadequately utilized by the academic community work for public (but not governmental) voluntary associations: national, regional, or international. In the Asian context, this group is represented herein by a unique person, Y. V. L. Rao, who is of Indian origin, works in Singapore, and considers himself a "citizen of the world." His concise review of "teaching and training" in the Asian context is worth reading because Rao is, among other things, the Secretary-General of the Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre. This is a pioneering regional organization that has done much to improve communication among Asian communicators and researchers.

A third set of communication researchers we need to learn from work in the private sector. We are fortunate to have two samples of their studies here. Newell Grenfell, founder of Survey Research Malaysia and chairman of the Survey Research Group of market research companies covering the five ASEAN countries and Hong Kong, illustrates the lessons to be learned from studying Asian populations as audiences for the mass media. Because audience surveys and the involvement of market research firms in media research are fairly recent innovations in Asia, these lessons are especially valuable to all students of communication. John Spence, a director of the important management consultant firm of W. D. Scott Ltd. in Sydney, Australia, kindly prepared the paper herein for the EWCI conference on "Communication in the Pacific" and permitted us to include it here. It clearly sets forth the planning parameters that will shape the future of communication in the vast Asia/Pacific region.

Professor Don Lamberton, chairman of the Economics Department at Queensland University in Australia, shows how multiplex are the factors that must enter into any systematic cost-to-benefit analysis of communications. His observations are drawn from a wide variety of studies done in the public and private sectors as well as those in academic and professional institutions. His suggestions will be especially useful to countries with limited resources that are seeking to integrate new technologies into their communication systems; for example, the introduction of a television satellite in Indonesia and the extension of a national radio network in Papua New Guinea.

My own paper is the only strictly academic product included in this selection. As it may be tiresome reading for those communicators with urgent practical problems, I have placed it last in order that it not deter you from reading the others. They are certainly worth the attention of all readers interested in the present shape and future prospects of Asian participation in the world communication network.

--Daniel Lerner
June 1976

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USING COMMERCIAL RESOURCES FOR AUDIENCE RESEARCH: THE MALAYSIAN EXPERIENCE*

Newell Grenfell

In this paper I will consider the role of commercial resources in collecting and reporting data on the size and composition of mass media audiences. First of all, I would like to comment on communication research perspectives, touching on the international experience in the industrialized countries as well as that of developing countries. Next I will describe historical and current patterns in the use of commercial resources for audience research in Malaysia, a developing country which may be described as media-rich.[1] Finally, I would like to illustrate the kind of information that commercial resources are providing in Malaysia and indicate the potential value of this information, not only to commercial interests but also to scholars of communication and to policy-makers.

COMMUNICATION RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

Within Lasswell's sweep of mass communication as the study of "Who, Says What, Through What Channels, To Whom With What Effect," research has, to date, been directed mostly to the last two components--the measurement and description of audiences, and the assessment of media effects (Lasswell, in Schramm and Roberts, 1971, p. 84). Both in quantity and direction, however, the perspectives of communication research differ between the industrialized countries and developing countries.

COMPARISON: THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In the industrialized countries, information on the size and composition of mass media audiences now abounds to the extent that some writers consider information of this kind to be in oversupply in comparison with other kinds of knowledge about the audiences (Belson, 1967). Therefore, communication researchers in these countries have increasingly turned their attention to the measurement of media exposure effects.

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*This paper embodies sections of a larger study prepared for a higher degree in the Department of English at the University of Malaya.

By comparison, in very few developing countries has there been any systematic accumulation of data on mass media audiences that could be compared with that available for the industrialized countries. In many developing countries there are no national audience figures at all; elsewhere, there are figures, but from technically unreliable surveys; and in some countries there are reliable figures that are unavailable to communication scholars or have not yet been the subject of scholarly analysis.

Most of the mass communication research from developing countries to date consists of inventories of media "hardware" and media systems and analyses of media content.[2] In their attempts to describe audiences, communication scholars in developing countries have had to estimate (or speculate) from fragmentary data more often than they have been able to consult systematic bodies of fact--except in studies confined to specific communities rather than national populations.[3] However, in Malaysia, commercial market research firms may be a potential source of much information that is of considerable value to communication scholars.

COMMERCIAL RESOURCES IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES

By academic standards, audience research--both in the industrialized countries and in developing countries--is very expensive. McQuail observes that under financial constraints, communication scholars have frequently "grafted their more theoretical interest onto work which has other, more practical, objectives" (McQuail, 1969, p. 37). It has been said that "Perhaps no group of investigators in the social sciences is more acutely aware of the implications of client supported research than students of mass communications (de Fleur and Larsen, 1968, p. xii). Thus, even work less complex and costly than national audience surveys has usually been funded by government, other public bodies, or organizations with a commercial interest in the findings. The larger and more expensive process of collecting basic audience statistics from nationwide surveys, following the paths set by Lazarsfeld and others some thirty years ago, has moved increasingly into the domain of market research firms.

Aside from the matter of the financial resources and organizational framework required for this kind of work, there is a further explanation for the involvement of market research firms in audience research. This lies in the fact that the mass media in many countries offer themselves as vehicles for commercial advertising. Business, as a purchaser of advertising "space," seeks information on the "value" of the advertising space available to it; and the value of advertising space for business is closely linked to the size and composition of the potential audience for its advertising. Within the broader context of their function as suppliers of information to business, market research firms have seen it as a logical extension of their activity to collect and report information on mass media audiences (Greenhalgh, 1973, p. 6).

Therefore, while a number of media organizations in the industrialized countries still conduct regular surveys, the majority of the work that aims to measure and describe audiences is undertaken by market research firms. In Britain, for example, media research is said to be "one of the largest single areas of market research expenditure (de Vos, in Worcester, 1972, p. 546). It is also relevant to note that the technical standards achieved by commercial firms in audience research set the standard for their other work because media audience research is one of the most carefully scrutinized areas of market research (see de Vos, in Worcester, 1972, p. 547; Greenhalgh, 1973, p. 7-8).

The fact that most audience surveys are carried out by commercial firms does not prevent a contribution being made by academic researchers. The president of the Japanese Broadcasting System (NHK) has written explicitly of "the connection" between commercial organizations on the one hand, and the academic world on the other. "It is fair to say," he points out, "that cooperation between these two parties produces mutual benefits" (Ono, 1974, p. 21).

Nevertheless, communication scholars are not entirely happy to be so reliant on commercial resources for data. Many would agree with Halloran's assessment: "The predominance of commercially oriented research may have led to advanced methods, but hardly to sophisticated theory or refined conceptualization" (Halloran, 1970, p. 14).

COMMERCIAL RESOURCES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

For developing countries, however, it may be argued that the more urgent need is for "advanced methods" rather than for the "sophisticated theory, or refined conceptualization." This priority was illustrated at an international conference at the East-West Communication Institute in December 1972. That conference on the use of commercial resources in planning and implementing family planning communication programs reported that twenty-seven countries were using commercial resources in this area of communication. The disciplinary relationship between academic researchers and market researchers was appropriately described in the report on that conference in the following manner: "Market research firms . . . specialize in the application of survey research to practical problems. Their techniques do not differ greatly from those used by academic researchers . . . but while academic researchers are usually specialists in a particular discipline of learning, market researchers are generalists, whose greatest expertise is in research methodology" (McMillan, et al., 1973, p. 1).

This statement reflects my view that commercial research and academic research should not be thought of as conflicting, even though their orientations may differ. Attention should be directed increasingly to the mutual benefits of cooperation--particularly in the developing countries. As Professor Lerner

points out in the Foreword, a good deal of communication research is being undertaken around the world outside of the academic community. The situation in Malaysia will illustrate this.

THE MALAYSIAN EXPERIENCE

A private market research firm carries out the survey that is recognized as the main source of data on the size and composition of mass media audiences in Malaysia. The survey, Media Index, has been reported annually since 1968.[4] The private sector users of the survey include all the largest advertising agencies (about twenty in number), marketing companies, and media proprietorships. In the public sector, the Ministry of Information uses the survey--notably for data on radio and television audiences. The academic institutions using the survey are the University of Malaya and the Asian Mass Communication and Research Centre in Singapore.

In 1972, Media Index was evaluated by a technical expert who, at that time, had no connection with any research organization in Southeast Asia. The consultant identified several areas in which the survey could be improved, but generally he concluded that it was "a thoroughly workmanlike media research project, designed and implemented to high professional standards and containing no features within the survey itself likely to introduce bias into its published data."[5]

Before illustrating the kind of information that this survey provides, and thereby indicating its potential value to communication scholars and to policy-makers, the historical development of the use of commercial resources for audience research in Malaysia will be briefly outlined and some technical features of the Media Index survey will be described.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The earliest systematic audience survey on record for the land area now known as Peninsular Malaysia was carried out in 1959 by the private firm Malayan Research Services. The survey was concerned mainly with audiences for overseas radio stations and was confined to Johore at the southern tip of the Malay peninsula. The report on the survey was not published although some of the findings have been cited in other studies (Betts, 1965, pp. 20, 35, 55, 58, 62-65, 68).

The firm that carried out this 1959 survey was then commissioned by a major publisher to undertake a much more ambitious project covering the whole of the peninsula (and Singapore). This project was never completed, but the recollections of Malaysians who were associated with it suggest that it encountered technical and administrative difficulties of the kind commonly associated with the early stages of survey research in developing countries.

The first major audience survey to be carried out for the government of what was then the Federation of Malaya was undertaken in 1961 by a Singapore-based firm called the Far East Research Organization. The survey was designed primarily to meet the needs of Radio Malaya. Personal interviews were made at more than 3,000 homes throughout the peninsula.[6]

To indicate the technical standards expected of this 1961 survey, its specifications stipulated that sampling error estimates should be provided for the main results. The contractor rightly inferred that probability sampling methods were to be used and, indeed, claimed to use them. However, the Technical Report on the survey reveals that a probability sample was not established. While the first-stage sampling unit--land area--was sampled on a probabilistic basis, at the second stage of sampling, dwelling units were selected "by means of a random walk" (see "Radio Listenership," X, pp. 2-3).

Interviewers' reports, which, to the credit of the contractor, were included in the Technical Report on the survey, show that the "random walk" procedure allowed a purposive selection of radio-owning households. As one interviewer reported, "In this field of experiences I have a kind regard for the kampong [village] children. They have guided me along kampong paths, pointed to me the houses of radio owners and informed kampong folks of my mission whilst still interviewing" ("Radio Listenership," X, p. 21).

The extent of the bias in this 1961 survey becomes apparent from a projection of its finding that 84 percent of the sampled homes had a radio.[7] It is not known precisely what the number of households in the country was at the time of this survey, but at the 1957 Census it was 1,257,128 ("1957 Population Census," Table 19). Even if there had been no increase in the number of households between 1957 and 1961 (which is unrealistic), and without taking account of multiple ownership of radios, 84 percent of the 1957 number of households gives a minimum possible figure of 1,056,000 sets. This is nearly 650,000 more than the number of radios estimated to have been in the country in 1961. (That estimate was based on the number of sets imported each year minus the number exported [Betts, 1965, Table II-18, p. 67]). It is almost 400,000 more than the number of sets projected from the next radio listening survey for government in Malaysia in 1965 ("1965 Listenership Survey," p. ii).

Viewed from the vantage point of the mid-1970s, the 1961 radio listening survey, which exhibited major bias, might be cryptically described as a "bad" experience of using commercial resources for audience research. But the fact that the survey was completed within the time and budget allowed was not an insignificant achievement in a developing country in 1961. And this fact is implicitly recognized in government's repeated, though not exclusive, use of commercial resources for audience "feedback" in Malaysia.[8]

When, in 1965, the administrators of Radio Malaysia[9] required another

survey, commercial resources were again tapped. An important difference between the 1965 survey and its 1961 predecessor, however, was that the Department of Statistics made a more substantial contribution to the 1965 survey. First of all, it was decided to make available to Survey Research Malaysia, the firm selected to undertake the survey, the sampling frame that the Statistics Department had developed for its 1962 and 1964 employment surveys. Secondly, a United Nations sampling expert, who was at that time attached to the Department, was assigned to assist the research firm in designing the sampling plan ("1965 Listenership Survey," p. 91).

In nearly all respects the technical standards of the 1965 radio listening survey were substantially higher than those achieved in 1961. Furthermore, the experience gained by the research firm appointed to carry out this 1965 survey had far-reaching implications for the development of a proficient commercial capability for audience research in Malaysia.

The firm that undertook the 1965 survey for Radio Malaysia capitalized on its experience by proceeding to a more ambitious all-media survey for six multinational marketing companies in 1965 ("1965 Media Study"). Two years afterwards, it launched the first fully-syndicated all-media survey in Malaysia under the title Media Index. This survey, which covers listening to radio and wired broadcasting, television viewing, cinema-going, and newspaper and magazine reading, has been carried out continuously since 1967, and has been reported annually since 1968. While other audience research has been conducted in Malaysia since the Media Index was introduced, this survey is now the main source of audience statistics in Malaysia.[10]

Because the Media Index has this leadership position, while being a product of a private market research firm, it is appropriate, within the context of the present paper, to examine briefly some of the technical features of the survey. Many of these features reflect a considerable accumulation of practical experience, plus ongoing financial and professional investments--advantages of established commercial research enterprises that are sometimes not weighed fully by academic and government researchers.

THE MEDIA INDEX

The universe for the Media Index survey is the non-institutional adult population (adults are defined as persons fifteen years old and older). Approximately 7,500 adults are personally interviewed each year. A three-stage probability sampling design is used; each stage of sampling involves the use or creation of a sampling frame, followed by the systematic selection of a sample of units from the frame.

The frame for the first stage of sampling was developed by the Department of Statistics in 1966 and purchased by the research firm in 1967.[11] This frame

divides the land area of Peninsular Malaysia into primary sampling units (PSUs), each comprising about 200 households.

For the Media Index survey, primary sampling units are drawn from this frame disproportionately according to three strata of differing population density.[12] One stratum comprises the three largest population centers, which contain about one-half of the country's urban population, that is, approximately 20 percent of the total population. The research firm describes this stratum as Peninsular Malaysia's "market centres." The second stratum comprises the remaining urban areas, and the third stratum is rural.[13]

The 1975 Media Index first-stage sample contained 131 out of 1,055 market center PSUs (approximately one in eight); 131 out of 1,128 PSUs in smaller towns (approximately one in nine); and 240 out of 3,682 rural PSUs (approximately one in fifteen). Within each stratum, PSUs were selected at fixed intervals from a random starting point.[14]

The second stage of sampling for the Media Index survey involves the mapping and listing of all the dwelling units in the selected PSUs. This is done by inspection of the property before interviewing begins. All dwelling units in a selected PSU are marked on large-scale maps; the addresses are listed and the dwellings numbered in sequence. A sample of dwelling units (DUs) is selected at fixed intervals from a random point in each PSU. (For the 1975 survey, the DU sampling interval was one in three for urban PSUs and one in six for rural PSUs.)[15]

At the third stage of sampling for Media Index interviewers visit the selected dwelling units and prepare a list of all the adults who normally live there. Adults are listed in descending age order and identified--for example, head of the household, housewife, eldest son, etc. In addition, information is obtained about the language spoken at meals and about the dialect of the household. A sample of adults is then selected systematically from a random starting point in the prepared lists. (For the 1975 survey the sampling intervals for selecting adults were one in ten for urban areas and one in eight for rural areas.)[16]

A major feature of the Media Index survey is that data-collection is continuous; interviewing is spread throughout the year and takes place on almost every day of the year except important festival days. Fieldwork is thus spread with the intention of "averaging out" seasonal patterns of media use that are associated with different cultures in Malaysia's multi-ethnic population.

The following table summarizes the response rates at different sampling stages for the 1975 survey.

TABLE 1. SAMPLE FOR THE 1975 MEDIA INDEX*

Number of PSUs selected	502
Number of PSUs used	500
Number of DUs selected	26,939
Number of DUs enumerated	21,994
Percentage of DU response rate	82
Number of adults selected	8,988
Number of adults interviewed	7,826
Percentage of adult response rate	87

Source: Technical Report 1975, p. 33. The number of interviewed adults is cited as 7,824 in Technical Report 1975, but this has been corrected with reference to the data tables of the survey.

*Note: interviewing was not possible in two selected PSUs because access was prohibited for "internal security" reasons.

The interviewers are permanent staff members of the research firm. They receive a basic minimum wage, benefits similar to those of other permanent staff, and earn additional remuneration based on the number of interviews they conduct.[17] Supervisors are responsible for the interviewers in the field. In addition, quality control officers make spot checks--both on the work of the interviewers and on the activities of the supervisors. During the year, about 15 percent of the completed interviews are either witnessed or validated in return interviews conducted by supervisors or quality control officers.

The questionnaire for this survey is printed in the four main written languages used in Peninsular Malaysia.[18] The language and dialect of the interview is determined by the respondent. As mentioned, the usual meal-time language and dialect of the household is recorded in the preparation of the sample; thus interviewer language-capability is matched with that of the respondents.[19]

Separate data are reported for men and for women. For each, the findings are tabulated by age group, ethnic group, personal income, household income, household within ethnic group, geographical stratum, and ethnic group within stratum.

All the information in the data tables of Media Index reports is expressed in percentages, and projected to population values in thousands ('000). In addition, the punched cards are weighted to a set of theoretical values reflecting

the "best available" estimates of the size and composition of the adult population at the end of the data-collection period. These estimates are drawn from the demographic section of the Department of Statistics, other probability samples that the research firm has conducted during the year, and changes recorded in the firm's sampling frame--a change in the number of dwelling units per sampling unit, or in the number of adults per household.[20]

Since 1971 the data tables have been prepared in final format using an IBM 1130 computer, and xerox equipment photographically reduces the computer print-out for ease of handling. Thus, the annual reports are produced quickly, and a greater range of cross-tabulations and media duplication data have been made available.[21]

In 1972 the design and implementation of the Media Index survey were reviewed by the technical consultant to the Joint Industry Committee for National Readership Surveys in Britain.

The appraisal report, including forty-eight pages of discussion and comment, indicated several suggestions for improving the survey. For example, it said that further clarification was needed with regard to the exclusion of institutional population from the survey universe. It suggested that consideration be given to increasing the first-stage sampling fractions and to decreasing the fractions used in the second or third stages. This change would give the sample a wider dispersion although it might increase fieldwork costs disproportionately. The need to be "realistic" in balancing cost and accuracy was acknowledged.

The report also expressed the view that the questionnaire would benefit from more rotation of the questions to avoid order bias; and there was criticism of the method used to establish ratings for individual television programs and of some "filter questions" used in the print media section. The appraisal urged that unweighted bases be shown in the main data tables and not separately, as was the practice at that time.

Notwithstanding these criticisms and some others, the survey was in general, highly commended.

ILLUSTRATION

Some findings will illustrate the kind of data that are obtained from the Media Index survey in Malaysia. These findings focus on a private, wired broadcasting system that is available to the 20 percent of the population living in the three market centers of Peninsular Malaysia. The system is operated by Rediffusion (Malaya) Sdn. Bhd. (known as "Rediffusion") a subsidiary of a British company whose operations in the Southeast Asian region cover Hong Kong and Singapore, as well as Malaysia.

Media Index findings on Rediffusion are particularly interesting; what they reveal about the ethnic composition of the audience is significant in the context of Malaysia's concern for the integration of its plural society.[22] Furthermore, it is valuable to compare recent trends in the size of Rediffusion's audience and Radio Malaysia's audience in the market centers in which the two systems "compete"; the comparison is between a private enterprise system on the one hand and a government-operated system on the other. Some characteristics of these two systems should be briefly noted.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF REDIFFUSION AND RADIO MALAYSIA

The domestic broadcasts of Radio Malaysia are carried principally by four networks--National, Green, Red, and Blue. The languages used by these networks are, respectively, Bahasa Malaysia (Malay, literally "The Malaysian language"), Chinese, Indian, and English, although continuity announcements, musical "request" programs, and some news and informational programs on all networks are in Bahasa Malaysia. The National Network is on the air 168 hours a week; the Green Network, 100 hours; the Red Network, 92.5 hours; and the Blue Network, 87 hours.[23] All networks transmit on both medium wave and short wave, and thereby cover all the populated land area of the peninsula.

Rediffusion sets can be installed only in the market centers, but at almost any location within these centers. Subscribers pay a monthly rental charge of M $6.00 (about US $2.40).[24] By mid-1975, just over 40,000 Rediffusion sets were in service: 76 percent were located in private homes; 14 percent in shops; and the remaining 10 percent in coffee shops, restaurants, factories, hospitals, hotels, schools, or clubs.[25] Thus, Rediffusion serves an away-from-home audience as well as its domestic subscribers.[26]

Rediffusion broadcasts on two networks--the Gold Network and the Silver Network--that operate daily from 6 a.m. to midnight (126 hours a week). Both networks are channelled to each loudspeaker and listeners switch the loudspeaker to the network of their choice.

Programs are put out on both networks by stations in each of the three market centers. Over the system as a whole, 70 percent of the week's 756 hours of broadcasting (three centers with two networks each broadcasting at 126 hours a week) are in the Chinese language, 21 percent are in English, and 9 percent are in Bahasa Malaysia. To put Rediffusion's language-mix in context, 60 percent of the adults in the market centers are Chinese, 22 percent are Malay, and 18 percent are Indian/Other;[27] about 62 percent of the adults in these centers understand Chinese, of the 38 percent who do not understand Chinese 24 percent understand English, and of the remaining 14 percent 10 percent understand Bahasa Malaysia.[28]

Seven-tenths of the broadcasting hours on Rediffusion's Gold Network and three-quarters of the hours on its Silver Network are allocated to "musical" programs; about 17 percent of the time on each network is given to "stories"--the term used for all drama programs; and the remaining time is used to relay programs (mostly news bulletins) from Radio Malaysia. For although Rediffusion is a free enterprise system, a provision of its operating license, which reflects Malaysia's particular mix of government-operated, "semi-controlled," and laissez-faire media,[29] requires that Rediffusion relay Radio Malaysia's broadcasts at least twenty hours each week.

Rediffusion's program-mix differs from that of Radio Malaysia, the government-operated wireless broadcasting service.[30] Table 2 compares the allocation of time by program category on each of Rediffusion's networks with the same categories on Radio Malaysia's Green and Blue Networks, which broadcast Chinese and English-language programs, respectively.

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF NETWORK CONTENT FOR REDIFFUSION AND RADIO MALAYSIA BY PERCENTAGE OF BROADCAST TIME

	Rediffusion		Radio Malaysia	
	Gold	Silver	Green	Blue
Number of Broadcast hours each week	176	176	100	87
Percentage of Broadcast Hours of:				
Music/entertainment*	70	76	62	61
Stories/drama*	18	17	6	1
News	9	7	10	16
Information and education	3	*	22	22

Sources: Rediffusion figures adapted from "Total Weekly Breakdown on Broadcast Hours for Stories-Musicals-R. M. Relays on the Gold and Silver Networks," unpublished table (Kuala Lumpur: Rediffusion [Malaya] Sdn. Bhd., n.d.) given to the writer on 28 October 1975. Radio Malaysia figures from Inilah Radio/TV Malaysia, pp. 4 and 7, with the percentage of "entertainment" on Green Network corrected.

*Note: "Entertainment" and "drama" are the terms used by Radio Malaysia; Rediffusion uses the terms "music" and "stories," respectively, for these categories.

The demographic patterns of listening to Rediffusion are now reviewed, after which changes in the size of Rediffusion's audience from 1971 to 1975 are compared with changes for Radio Malaysia.

REDIFFUSION'S AUDIENCE: TOTAL, BY SEX

The 1975 Media Index reports that 27 percent of the adults in the market centers sometimes listens to Rediffusion. The incidence of listening is the same for men as for women, although a slightly higher proportion of women than men are very frequent listeners, defined as listening every day or almost daily.

TABLE 3. INCIDENCE AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO REDIFFUSION IN THE MARKET CENTERS IN TOTAL AND BY SEX: 1974-1975

	All Adults	Men	Women
Number of adults ('000)	1,185	606	579
Percentage of Adults who Listen:			
Every day or almost daily	17	15	18
Three or four times a week	2	3	1
Once or twice a week	2	2	2
Less often	6	6	5
Never listen	73	73	63
Number of interviews	2,617	1,163	1,454

Source: 1975 Media Index, I, Table 26A, and II, Table 26A.

There is relatively little difference in the incidence of listening to Rediffusion by age group. The highest figure is for 15 to 20-year-olds, 29 percent of whom sometimes listen; the lowest figure is for 21 to 30-year-olds, 25 percent of whom sometimes listen.

The highest incidence of very frequent listening is in the 15 to 20 years age group, where 19 percent are very frequent listeners. The figure drops to 15 percent in the 21 to 30 years age group, and rises by one percentage point in each age group thereafter.

TABLE 4. INCIDENCE AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO REDIFFUSION IN THE MARKET CENTERS BY AGE GROUP: 1974-1975

	Age			
	15-20	21-30	31-40	Over 40
Number of adults ('000)	277	341	222	344
Percentage of Adults Who Listen:				
Every day or almost daily	19	15	16	17
Three or four times a week	3	2	2	1
Once or twice a week	3	1	2	3
Less often	4	7	9	6
Never listen	71	75	72	74
Number of interviews	646	757	471	743

Source: 1975 Media Index, I, Table 26A, and II, Table 26A.

Tables 3 and 4 show that there is little variation in listening to Rediffusion by sex or by age group, but the uniformity of these patterns breaks at the ethnic group data. Table 5 shows that 93 percent of Malay adults in the market centers and 94 percent of Indians/Others never listen to Rediffusion. Furthermore, the incidence of very frequent listening by these ethnic groups is negligible. In sharp contrast, the proportion of Chinese who never listen is 59 percent; 41 percent sometimes listen, and 27 percent out of this group are frequent listeners.

Rediffusion's specific ethnic orientation, which is illustrated by the figures in Table 5, is further underlined by 1975 Media Index findings on the language(s) and network(s) listened to by the average daily audience, defined here as those who listened "yesterday"--meaning the day before the interview.

It has been mentioned that 70 percent of Rediffusion broadcasting hours are conducted in Chinese, 21 percent in English, and 9 percent in Bahasa Malaysia; however the 1975 survey reveals that 97 percent of Rediffusion's average daily audience listen to Chinese broadcasts, and 94 percent of this 97 percent listen exclusively to Chinese. This pattern is facilitated by the fact that Rediffusion's Gold Network broadcasts almost exclusively in Chinese; only the Silver Network systematically changes language.

TABLE 5. INCIDENCE AND FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO REDIFFUSION IN THE MARKET CENTERS BY ETHNIC GROUP: 1974-1975

	Malay	Chinese	Indian/Other
Number of adults ('000)	258	713	214
Percentage of Adults Who Listen:			
Every day or almost daily	*	27	1
Three or four times a week	1	3	*
Once or twice a week	2	2	2
Less often	3	8	1
Never listen	93	59	94
Number of interviews	490	1,753	374

Source: 1975 Media Index, I, Table 26A, and II, Table 26A.

* Note: Less than 0.5 percent.

As Table 6 shows, only 10 percent of the average day's audience listen to the Silver Network, and all but 3 percent of that 10 percent listen to the Gold Network as well as to the Silver Network, which carries Rediffusion's Bahasa Malaysia and English programs.

TABLE 6. LANGUAGE(S) AND NETWORK(S) OF REDIFFUSION'S BROADCASTS LISTENED TO "YESTERDAY" IN THE MARKET CENTERS, IN TOTAL AND FOR CHINESE AUDIENCES: 1974-1975

	All previous-day listeners to Rediffusion	Chinese
Number of adults ('000)	179	176
Percentage of Adults Who:		
Listened "yesterday" to broadcasts in:		
Chinese	97	99
English	7	6
Listened "yesterday" to broadcasts in:		
Chinese only	94	95
English only	3	2
Listened "yesterday" to:		
Gold Network	97	99
Silver Network	10	9
Number of interviews	447	442

Source: Adapted from 1975 Media Index, I, Table 27A, and II, Table 27A.

AUDIENCE TRENDS

The data on the ethnic orientation of Rediffusion are put in an important context when trends in the Rediffusion audience are compared with trends in Radio Malaysia's audience in the market centers wherein both systems are "competitive."

Five years of strictly comparable Media Index data show that since 1971 Rediffusion has retained its Chinese audience in the market centers more "successfully" than has Radio Malaysia.[31] This is especially true of the audience for Chinese-language programs. Table 7 shows, first, the comparison of the percentage of Chinese adults in the market centers who listen to Rediffusion and those who listen to Radio Malaysia, irrespective of language, from 1971 to 1975; it also gives the figures for listening to Chinese-language programs.

TABLE 7. INCIDENCE OF LISTENING "YESTERDAY" TO BROADCASTS IN ANY LANGUAGE AND IN CHINESE, FOR REDIFFUSION AND RADIO MALAYSIA, BY CHINESE AUDIENCES IN THE MARKET CENTERS: 1971-1975*

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Number of Chinese adults ('000)	628	655	667	692	713
Percentage of Adults Who:					
Listened "yesterday" to broadcasts in any language on:					
Rediffusion	28	26	28	27	25
Radio Malaysia	44	38	40	34	32
Listened "yesterday" to broadcasts in Chinese on:					
Rediffusion	27	25	27	27	24
Radio Malaysia	37	32	31	30	26
Number of interviews	1,802	1,738	1,860	1,897	1,753

Source: 1971 Media Index, "Men," Tables 24C and 31C, and "Women," Tables 24C and 31C; 1972 Media Index, I, Tables 22C and 29C, and II, Tables 22C and 29C; 1973 Media Index, I, Tables 20C, 21C, 27C, and II, Tables 20C, 21C, 27C; 1974 figures from the same vols. and tables as 1973 in 1974 Media Index, and 1975 Media Index.

* Note: Year ending June 30.

As seen in Table 7, both Rediffusion and Radio Malaysia record fewer Chinese listeners, as a percentage of the Chinese population of the market centers, in 1975 than in 1971. But Radio Malaysia's "losses" are more marked than Rediffusion's. For example, while Rediffusion's Chinese audience has fluctuated and was equivalent to 28 percent of the adult Chinese population in 1971 and 25 percent in 1975, Radio Malaysia's figures show a consistent downward trend, from 44 percent in 1971, through 40 percent in 1973, and to 32 percent in 1975.

Coming to the figures for listening to Chinese-language programs, the Rediffusion audience was equivalent to 27 percent of the adult Chinese population in 1971 and 24 percent in 1975, while Radio Malaysia's audience declined progressively from 37 percent in 1971 to 26 percent in 1975.

IMPLICATIONS

The findings here show that a private media system in Malaysia appears to be relatively more successful than the government system in capturing the attention of a specific demographic segment of the population--information that is potential interest to scholars of communication and development. Moreover, such findings have important implications for policy-makers and particularly for those in Malaysia where the media have been assigned an integrative role in the development process.

Two questions immediately arise: (1) What lessons does Rediffusion hold for Radio Malaysia in retaining the Chinese audience so that the government system can meet its commitment to communicate information on government policies and to bring about change in line with government objectives?[32] (2) How might Rediffusion's successful communication with its specific audience be further used in the interest of national goals in Malaysia without disturbing the basis of this system's appeal?

CONCLUSION

It is not within the scope of this paper to suggest possible answers to these questions. However, it is relevant to note that audience research identifies questions of this kind that might not otherwise be asked--but this paper does not aim to argue the value of audience research.[33] The crucial point here is that a commercial survey can provide data that define important issues for policy-makers and communication scholars. From the illustration here, it is suggested that commercial resources can make significant contributions to communication research. Their contributions may frequently be of equal value with that work found in the academic community or in the public sector. Commercial resources may make particularly important contributions in developing countries, where the "advanced methods" that are associated with established market research firms engaged in media research are more urgently required than the "refined conceptualization" that is less often identified with commercial practitioners.

This paper illustrates the role that commercial resources have as suppliers of data on the size and composition of mass media audiences in Malaysia, and how this situation came about. In this respect the situation in Malaysia is not different from that in most industrialized countries, where commercial market research firms are the main suppliers of media audience statistics.

It has not been argued that the private sector is in any sense the "right" or "proper" place in which to locate the collection and reporting of audience data, although cost and organizational considerations may well place it there--as developments in the industrialized countries over the past thirty years seem to indicate.

More importantly, it has not been suggested that the involvement of commercial market research firms in this work should in any way inhibit academic investigators. Commercial research that adheres to high technical standards is in no way in conflict with academic research. As the president of NHK has said, "Cooperation between these two parties produces mutual benefits."

NOTES

1. The concept of societies at a stage of development where the "media-centered models of the underdeveloped world became obsolete, and the more audience-centered models of the postindustrial world should take their place" is advanced and illustrated in Steven Chaffee and Fausto Izcaray, "Mass Communication Functions in a Media-Rich Developing Society," Media Communication, 2, No. 4 (October 1975), pp. 367-395. It is my view that Malaysia is now at this point of transition.

2. Examples for Malaysia are Paul Pritchard Blackburn, Communications and National Development in Burma, Malaysia and Thailand: A Comparative Systematic Analysis (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1974); David Hitchcock, Jr. Provincial Press and National Development in Malaysia and the Philippines, AMIC Communication Monograph (Singapore: Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre, 1973); Russel Betts. "The Mass Media of Malaya and Singapore as of 1965: A Survey of the Literature," 142 pp. mimeo (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies, 1969), hereafter cited as "Survey of the Literature."

3. For example, Paul Deutschmann, Huber Ellingsworth, and John McNelly. Communication and Social Change in Latin America (New York: Praeger, 1968). An example for Malaysia was the research for Marvin Rogers, "Politicization and Political Development in a Rural Malay Community," Asian Survey, 9 (December 1969), pp. 919-933.

4. The surveys in this series have not been consistently titled. Up to 1972 they were styled SRM Media Index, incorporating the acronym of the research firm; this practice was discontinued in 1973. The reports cited in this paper are identified by date and title, as in 1975 Media Index. Separate parts of a report are identified by Roman numerals--part I containing data on men, and part II containing data on women. The reports are prepared in Kuala Lumpur by Survey Research Malaysia Sdn. Bhd. The surveys referred to here cover only Peninsular Malaysia. A first Media Index survey was carried out in six towns of Sabah and Sarawak (commonly termed East Malaysia) in 1975. The Media Index name is given to a project in Singapore which has been operated in parallel with the Peninsular Malaysia survey since 1967. The same name is given to all-media surveys conducted by other market research firms linked with Survey Research Malaysia in Hong Kong, Thailand, and Indonesia.

5. Michael Brown, "The SRM Media Index: A Technical Appraisal of Design and Implementation," unpublished report (London: Collins Teleki Brown Associates, Ltd., 1973), p. 46. Hereafter cited as "Technical Appraisal."

6. "Radio Listenership in the Federation of Malaya," unpublished report in 10 sections (Singapore: Far East Research Organisation Ltd., 1961). Hereafter cited as "Radio Listenership . . . 1961." Different volumes of the report cite slightly different numbers for the sample size and number of households with radios because "some of the questionnaires could be used for some purposes but not for others": (see Vol. X, p. 4).

7. The figure of 84 percent is derived from results reported at "Radio Listenership . . . 1961," VIII, p. 9.

8. Since 1962, the Research and Reference Division of the Department of Information Services has initiated a number of audience surveys of various kinds. Some surveys have been carried out by the department on its own, using only "outside" data processing services; in some cases, commercial resources have been used just as consultants; at least one survey (in 1963) was conducted with the help of an adviser attached to the University of Malaya. Details of most of these surveys are given in Karl Nordenstreng, "Malaysia: Audience Research for Defining Communication Policy," (Paris: UNESCO [Serial No. 2663 RMO. RD/MC] 1972), pp. 16-17. In 1972, a pilot project in post-graduate media studies began in the Department of English at the University of Malaya; but it was not intended that participants in this project become directly involved in original audience research using survey methods. See Lloyd Fernando, "UM Media Research: The Background," Leader: Malaysian Journalism Review, No. 2 (July 1972), pp. 15-19.

9. Radio Malaya was renamed Radio Malaysia following the proclamation of the Federation of Malaysia in September 1963.

10. Notably those surveys conducted by Spectrum Intl. Mktg. Services Sdn. Bhd.

11. Survey Research Malaysia paid M$40,000 (about US $16,000) for this sampling frame. This exemplifies an aspect of "investment" in commercial survey research, to which reference is made.

12. The Media Index: Technical Report 1975 (Kuala Lumpur: Survey Research Malaysia Sdn. Bhd., n.d.) pp. 20-26. Hereafter cited as Technical Report 1975.

13. Urban areas are towns whose population was estimated by the Department of Statistics in 1966 to exceed 10,000. Also included are smaller towns where at least 50 percent of the workforce is engaged in non-agricultural activity. See Technical Report 1975, pp. 25.

14. Technical Report 1975, p. 26. Note that the sampling frame purchased in 1967 has been regularly up-dated by the research firm to include new housing areas, particularly in and around major towns. The frame originally contained 5,627 PSUs, but the number had risen to 5,865 by the time the sample was drawn for the 1975 survey.

15. Technical Report 1975, p. 27. (DU sampling fraction corrected by reference to Survey Research Malaysia Sdn. Bhd. files.)

16. Same as note 15.

17. The problem of attracting and retaining suitable trained staff for fieldwork in rural Asia is elaborated in Gloria Feliciano and Benjamin Lozare, "Doing Research in Rural Asia: Problem of Methods," Media Asia, 1, No. 1 (1974), pp. 15-20.

18. The questionnaire is printed in Bahasa Malaysia (romanized), Chinese, Tamil, and English.

19. Technical Report 1975, p. 31.

20. Technical Report 1975, p. 35. Also partially documented in "Population Data and Sampling Plan," unpublished technical report for survey SRM 9232 (Kuala Lumpur: Survey Research Malaysia Sdn. Bhd., 1974), pp. 2-10.

21. Greenhalgh (p. 15) discusses the importance of "data freshness" for commercial users of audience research, and says that mainly on this account market research firms conduct regular or continuous surveys and report their findings promptly. He suggests that this feature of commercial work--being both up-to-date and also in time series--may be of particular interest to academic investigators. The increased supply of Media Index data was reflected in 1972 when the two-volume annual report was expanded to three.

22. Malaysia's commitment to a "united nation" is set down in Rukenegara: English Translation (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Information, n.d.), pp. 7-8.

23. Sources: Inilah Radio/TV Malaysia (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer, 1975), pp. 1-7; also Malaysia 1973 Official Year Book (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer, 1975), pp. 468-469. Note that Radio Malaysia has a number of other special services, such as educational broadcasts, which are not discussed here.

24. Rediffusion collects an additional M$1.00 a month for the Ministry of Information from subscribers who do not already have radio licenses. The writer gratefully acknowledges the help of Mr. Chang Kok Hwa of Rediffusion (Malaya) Sdn. Bhd. who provided background information for this section.

25. Adapted from Loudspeaker Breakdown Figures for the Month of June, 1975, 3 pages, mimeo (Kuala Lumpur: Rediffusion [Malaya] Sdn. Bhd., n.d.).

26. A special analysis of 1973 Media Index data found that 39 percent of previous-day listeners to Rediffusion did not have a receiver in their own homes. Source: "1973 Media Index: Special Report for Rediffusion [Malaya] Sdn. Bhd., Vol. IV," unpublished report (Kuala Lumpur: Survey Research Malaysia Sdn. Bhd., 1974), Table 13A.

27. "Others" in Malaysian ethnic classification are mainly Europeans, Eurasians, and Thais. They amount to about 1 percent of the adult population. Ceylonese and Pakistanis are grouped with Indians.

28. Source: 1975 Media Index, I, Table 7C and II, Table 7C. Note that these figures reflect multilingualism. The percentages of market center adults who understand each individual language are: Chinese, 62 percent; English, 51 percent; Bahasa Malaysia, 44 percent. For Peninsular Malaysia as a whole, Bahasa Malaysia, the official national language, is the most widely understood individual language. See 1975 Media Index, I, Table 6C, and II, Table 6C.

29. Refer to the discussion by Paul Pritchard Blackburn. Note that the Director-General of Broadcasting sits as a government nominee on the Board of Rediffusion (Malaya) Sdn. Bhd.

30. Wireless broadcasting in Peninsular Malaysia is in the government domain, operated by Radio and Television Malaysia (RTM), under the Ministry of Information. The only radio system apart from RTM is the Internal Broadcasting Station of the Australian Air Force at Butterworth; but this broadcasts only in English and is heard only in the immediate vicinity.

31. In 1970-1971 the Media Index data-collection "year" was standardized on a twelve-month period, that is, from July (1970) to June (1971). Therefore, the trend comparison shown here is from reports dated 1971-1975.

32. For the declared objectives of Radio Malaysia see Inilah Radio/TV Malaysia, p. 2.

33. Note in particular the perceived importance of audience research in developing countries in Schramm, Wilbur, Mass Media and National Development (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 267.

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THE PAKISTANI PRESS, JULY-OCTOBER 1970: A CONTENT ANALYSIS MODEL

Barry Fulton

This paper will attempt to illustrate a simple and efficient method of conducting a comparative analysis of the political press. The paradigm on which this analysis is based was developed by Klaus Krippendorff (1967). The analysis which is required, and which is described herein, allows the transformation of selected raw data to a set of notations referring to inaccessible states of interest to the analyst. I have carefully followed Krippendorff's requirement for explicitly describing the analytical constructs used to make inferences from the recorded text.

The value of the conclusions that are reached depends upon the reliability of the judgments made by the analyst, the validity of the assumptions that underlie the analysis, and the analysis and interpretation of the data. The weakest of these links is the second, for it is far more difficult to specify what is being measured than to make the measurement or interpret the data.

Two questions are posed in this study: (1) What is the attitude of the press to X concept? and (2) What is the image of X concept that is represented in the press? The two questions should not be confused. Although it is tempting to impute negative attitudes to a press that presents a negative image of a particular concept (for example a political figure or another country), the image might accurately reflect the state of the concept or the availability of news about the concept, rather than any introduction of bias by the press itself.

IMAGE

The image of a political concept is assumed to include two connotative dimensions: evaluation and dynamism. Osgood and his colleagues have found that most concepts can be described by three independent dimensions: evaluation, potency, and activity. However, since the second and third factors tend to collapse into a dynamism factor for sociopolitical concepts, the two have been combined in this study (Osgood et al., 1957, p. 74).

The scale items associated with the evaluative dimension were bad-good; unfair-fair; and foolish-wise. For the dynamism dimension the pairs were weak-strong; passive-active; and slow-fast. These pairs were selected from the

literature because of their frequent use and high loading on the two dimensions. Factor analysis of additional bipolar pairs might reveal other items more appropriate to this type of media analysis if it were to be given wider application.

It is obviously desirable to arrive at a single composite index that provides a valid empirical measure of the "image" of a political concept. Necessary but not sufficient are the orthogonal dimensions of evaluation and dynamism. In addition, the index ought to reflect the number of times the concept appears in the media being studied. If it does not, one is faced with the possibility of comparing two concepts (for example, capitalism and socialism), one of which is mentioned twice while the second is mentioned two hundred times. The resultant images that are formed must reflect the difference in exposure. Hence, it is assumed that the image index ought to represent some function (f) of the number of items that appear (N) as well as a measure of the evaluative (E) and dynamism (D) dimensions of the concept as represented in the item. That is,

$$\text{Image Index} = f(N, E, D)$$

It has already been assumed that the evaluative and dynamism dimensions are independent; Osgood (1957, p. 90) assumes as well that the space defined by k orthogonal axis, the semantic space, is Euclidean. Hence, the two dimensions can be represented in two-dimensional space as illustrated in Figure 2. The geometrical combination of the two vectors produces a directional vector equivalent to the square root of the sum of the squares. This vector, designated as the Image vector (I), is illustrated in Figure 2. (For the purposes of this paper, the angle of the vector is ignored.)

Research reported by Osgood reveals that the variance attributable to the dynamism dimension is about equal to that due to the evaluative dimension (1957, p. 73). As it may be thereby assumed that the maxima of the two orthogonal vectors are equal, it is valid to further assume that the two dimensions should be given equal weight in calculating the magnitude of the Image vector.

There are several plausible ways to determine E and D. The most reliable would require trained analysts to judge separate items sampled from the media on a semantic differential on each of the scales chosen to represent the various dimensions. For a large-scale application, a more efficient (and less reliable) method was chosen. For a study of the images of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the People's Republic of China in the Pakistani press, analysts were asked to make a judgment of each relevant press item on two simple three-step scales, each scale representing one of the two dimensions. It was assumed that the most desirable image of a country is one that has the best rating on the evaluative scale and the most dynamic rating on the dynamism scale. If, however, one assumes the "best" image is a function of the least rather than most dynamic, the same methodology can be applied.

If E and D were to be calculated by taking the simple difference between positive and negative items, the data could be easily misrepresented. For example, one sample might show 35 positive and 33 negative items, while a second might show 35 positive and 31 negative items. By simple subtraction, the first sample would appear to be twice as positive as the second. A more valid index of the dimension is found by dividing the number of positive items by the sum of the positive and negative items, thereby expressing the degree of "positiveness" in percentage terms. Hence,

$$E = \frac{E_p}{E_p + E_n}$$ where,

E = the magnitude of the evaluative dimension

E_p = the sum of the positive items on the evaluative scale

E_n = the sum of the negative items on the evaluative scale

The dynamism dimension, D, can be calculated in an analogous manner:

$$D = \frac{D_p}{D_p + D_n}$$

(By using the seven-step semantic differential, the assignment of values 1 through 7 and their subsequent combination based on the assumptions of equal-interval scaling would give a finer measure of these dimensions. In addition, the use of multiple scales would increase the reliability of the measure.)

There remains the requirement for combining the number of items, N, with the Image vector, I. It is necessary, in effect, to "stretch" the Image vector to account for the frequency of exposure. The logarithm of N, rather than N itself, was chosen as an appropriate measure based on research reported by Zajonc (1968). Although it is difficult to determine or justify the time period over which N ought to be calculated, 30 days was arbitrarily chosen for the convenience of allowing a month-by-month analysis. (The difficulties in analysis inherent in any arbitrary choice of time frame are discussed later in the paper.)

The Image Index is defined as the product of the logarithm of N (the "stretching" factor) and the Image vector (the magnitude of the combined Evaluative and Dynamism vectors). That is,

$$\text{Image Index} = \log N \times I$$

There remains one further adjustment. Each of the sample measures must be weighed to compensate for the difference in circulation of the publications in the sample. The Image Index will then represent the composite image

reflected in the press (or other media). The weighted values can be calculated as follows, where X stands for D, E, or N; and C_i stands for the circulation of medium i:

$$X \text{ (weighted)} = \frac{C_1X_1 + C_2X_2 + \ldots + C_nX_n}{C_1 + C_2 + \ldots + C_n}$$

Finally, the Image Index is defined as follows, where the subscript w designates weighted values:

$$\text{Image Index} = \ln N_w \, (E_w^2 + D_w^2)^{1/2}$$

Although it is impossible to judge the validity of this measure within the scope of this study, it will serve as a working hypothesis of an image index that allows a month-by-month comparison of various political images projected in the press or other selected media.

ATTITUDES

Determining the attitude (or related factors such as bias, intention, motivation, and objectivity) of the press is much more difficult than measuring the image of a country (or other political concept) represented by the press. One approach is to examine the unweighted Image Indices for the various publishers or broadcasters that are represented in the study. If the sampling is done on the same days, and the analysis conducted by analysts whose judgments are found to be reliable, differences from the composite country-wide index can be attributed to differences among the media. Other measures of attitude include the analysts' overall judgment of individual issues of a publication and the analysts' judgment of the position represented in various editorials in the sample. Hence, three different rank-orderings are possible based on: (1) the unweighted Image Indices; (2) the number of balanced issues in the sample divided by the sum of the balanced issues plus the biased issues; and (3) the number of "pro" editorials minus the "anti" editorials in the sample. If there is a significant correlation among these independent measures, it can be concluded that the relative attitudes of various media can be measured using one or more of the three methods.

ANALYSIS OF THE PAKISTANI PRESS*

An analysis of the Pakistani press was conducted for July through October 1970, to measure the image of the United States, the Union of Soviet

*The analysis includes three newspapers from East Pakistan, now the independent country of Bangladesh as of 1971.

Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China as represented by 10 major Pakistani dailies. In addition, the study was designed to measure the attitude of these dailies to the United States. Both measures illustrate the method described in this paper.

METHOD

Each of the newspapers chosen for analysis was examined four times a month during the four-month period of the study. The papers are listed below with circulation figures compiled from various Pakistani sources (the figures include the circulation of similar editions published simultaneously in other cities).

City	Newspaper	Language	Circulation (in thousands)
Karachi	Jang	Urdu	183
	Morning News	English	47
	Dawn	Urdu	35
Lahore	Mashriq	Urdu	82
	Pakistan Times	English	49
	Nawa-i-waqt	Urdu	45
	Imroze	Urdu	45
Dacca	Ittefaq	Bengali	35
	Azad	Bengali	30
	Pakistan Observer	English	35
		TOTAL	586

The following instructions were given the analysts who were bilingual Pakistanis in Karachi, Lahore, and Dacca:

Mark every item—news story, feature, photograph, cartoon, editorial, letter to the editor—that mentions by name United States, the Soviet Union, or China. Identify each of the items by headline or caption on Form 1 (prepare a separate form for each of the three countries). List the item under the country mentioned in the item. If the item concerns two or three of the countries, list it under the country of the actor. For example, the story that begins, "Soviet Union warns the United States . . ." would be listed only under the Soviet Union. If an item concerns two or three countries and an actor is not identified, list it under all of the countries. For example, the item, "USSR and US resume talks . . ." would be listed under both the United States and the Soviet Union.

As each item is listed, a mark (X) should be placed in one of the three sub-columns under the heading EVALUATION, and a second mark placed in one of the three sub-columns under the heading DYNAMISM. Use the neutral column only if the story does not lean in either direction.

Newspaper _____ Country _____

Date _____ Analyst _____

List each item about the country which appears in the issue being analyzed. Rate the image of the country which is reflected in each item by the following criteria:

EVALUATION		DYNAMISM	
Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive
bad	good	weak	strong
unfair	fair	passive	active
foolish	wise	slow	fast

If the image of the country does not tend toward either the positive or negative pole, mark it Neutral.

ITEM IDENTIFICATION	EVALUATION			DYNAMISM		
	Neg	Neu	Pos	Neg	Neu	Pos
1						
2						
3						
4						

FIGURE 1. PRESS SURVEY RATING FORM

A second form was completed that included summaries of the data on Form 1 plus the following:

A. Using as a standard the treatment of news events in the American press (for example, International Herald-Tribune, Newsweek, Time*), the analyst should complete the following statement: Judging only the issue of the paper which I am sampling, and considering the total treatment—including sources, selection, style, layout—news coverage was: generally balanced OR biased against the United States.*
(NOTE: Coverage of a newsworthy event which happens to reflect unfavorably on the United States does not necessarily mean that the treatment was biased against the United States.)

B. Examine each editorial in the issue and classify it as: pro-American OR anti-American OR neutral.

The analysts were given instructions by the researcher in making these judgments, but the study was discontinued before systematic testing and training could be conducted to ensure high reliability. Hence, it is necessary to interpret the results with some caution.

RESULTS

The results of the analysis are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. PAKISTANI PRESS ANALYSIS: JULY - OCTOBER 1970

	Country	E_w	D_w	I_w	N_w	Image Index
July	USA	0.42	0.83	0.93	186	4.9
	USSR	0.67	0.68	0.95	47	3.7
	PRC	0.97	0.98	1.38	29	4.6
August	USA	0.34	0.47	0.58	134	2.8
	USSR	0.71	0.67	0.98	37	3.5
	PRC	0.69	0.77	1.03	29	3.5
September	USA	0.27	0.57	0.63	209	3.3
	USSR	0.77	0.85	1.14	56	4.6
	PRC	0.90	0.82	1.22	36	4.4
October	USA	0.48	0.71	0.86	212	4.6
	USSR	0.64	0.64	0.91	93	4.1
	PRC	0.99	0.99	1.40	42	5.2
July-October Mean	USA	0.38	0.64	0.75	185	3.9
	USSR	0.70	0.71	1.00	58	4.0
	PRC	0.89	0.89	1.26	34	4.4

An examination of the table reveals that: (1) the evaluative component of the image of the United States was always lower than that of the Soviet Union and China; (2) China had a consistently more positive image than the United States and the Soviet Union on both the evaluative and dynamism dimensions; and (3) the number of items appearing about the United States ranged from two to six times the number about China or the Soviet Union.

The three components of the Image Index were tested for statistical significance. A chi-square test showed a difference in both the evaluative and dynamism dimensions for the three countries, and Student's t-test for correlated samples confirmed a significant difference in the number of items appearing about the three countries. All differences for each month were significant at or beyond the 0.05 level. In conducting the tests, data collected from each of the four dates in the monthly sample were combined, so that the analysis was based on a sample of ten different publications rather than a sample of forty different issues, which would not have been entirely independent.

Table 1 shows the following mean-weighted Image Index for the three countries over the four-month period of the study: United States--3.9; Soviet Union--4.0; China--4.4. The mean components of these Image Indexes are represented in Figure 2. The number of items rated negatively on the evaluative scale accounts for the relative magnitude of the image of the United States; this figure reflects, at least in part, the number of unfavorable news stories that are available about the United States. On the other hand, the disproportionate number of items about the United States kept the Image Index from being even lower than it was.

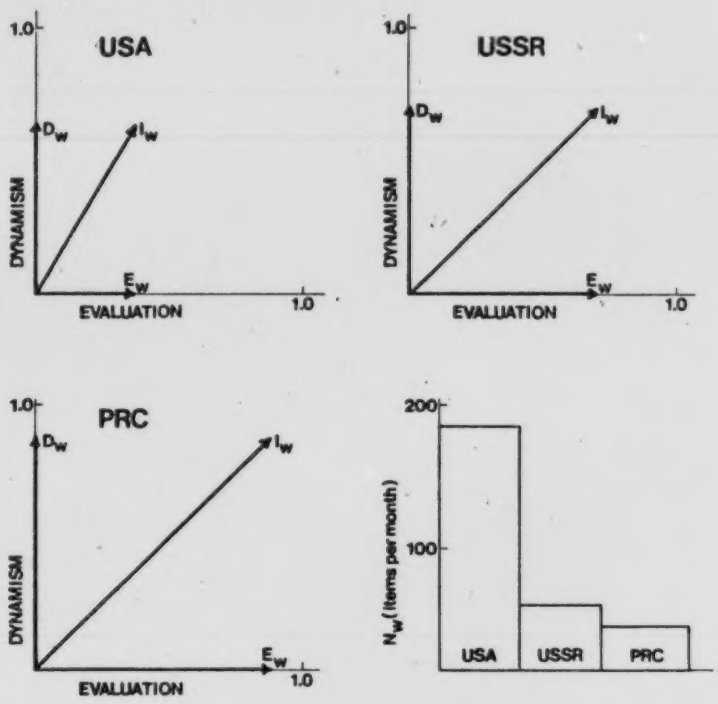

FIGURE 2.
REPRESENTATION OF THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN TEN PAKISTANI DAILIES, JULY-OCTOBER 1970

The findings are hardly surprising. After the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, relations cooled considerably between Pakistan and the United States when Pakistan charged the United States had failed to fulfill treaty obligations to Pakistan. Both China and the Soviet Union were welcomed in the hope that they would fill the void left with the curtailment of American military assistance. China, which shared India with Pakistan as a common enemy, responded with enthusiasm. Although the Soviet Union was also successful in extending its influence into Pakistan after 1965, it compromised its position by continuing assistance to India. Most Pakistani observers would have characterized the Pakistani press as excessively friendly to the Chinese during the period of this study; the friendship of the Soviet Union was portrayed with caution; and the United States was regarded with both curiosity and suspicion. Subjectively, the image of the Soviet Union was becoming slightly tarnished, while that of the United States was continuing its gradual increase following its sharp decline in 1965. The quantitative analysis complements these impressions.

The Image Index can be plotted month-by-month, but because of the relatively small sample size during a given month, month-by-month variations are liable to be specious. However, the four-month analysis forms a useful base for subsequent analyses.

The treatment of (or attitude toward) the United States by the ten dailies is shown in Table 2 as measured by the three methods described earlier:

TABLE 2. THREE MEASURES OF PRESS ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES*

Newspaper	Image Index		Balance		Editorials	
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
Morning News	6.3	1	1.0	3.0	1	1.0
Dawn	6.1	2	1.0	3.0	-2	8.0
Jang	4.4	3	1.0	3.0	-4	10.0
Pakistan Observer	4.1	4	0.9	7.5	-3	9.0
Pakistan Times	3.9	5	0.9	7.5	0	3.5
Azad	3.8	6	1.0	3.0	0	3.5
Ittefaq	3.7	7	0.9	7.5	0	3.5
Mashriq	2.3	8	1.0	3.0	0	3.5
Imroze	2.2	9	0.8	10.0	-1	6.5
Nawa-i-waqt	2.0	10	0.9	7.5	-1	6.5

*NOTE: The higher the score, the more favorable is the treatment of the United States.

There is a significant ($p < .05$) correlation of 0.61 between the rank ordering determined by the Image Index and that determined by the method labeled "balance." Note that of 160 different editions examined during the four months, only eleven were judged to be biased against the United States. Of 254 editorials examined during this same period, 2 were pro-U.S., 12 anti-U.S., and the balance neutral or unrelated. There was no significant correlation between the "editorial" ranking and the other two methods of rank-ordering the press treatment of the United States.

The correlation between two independent methods of assessing press attitudes provides additional validation of the concept of the Image Index. Between the two measures that correlate, it may be assumed that the Image Index method is more reliable because of the number of independent judgments that are involved in determining the value of the index.

Although the tendency for the rank-ordering in the first column of Table 2 to cluster by city may be partially attributable to consistent differences in judgment by the three analysts, the clustering also provides further evidence of the validity of the measure. Most observers, for example, would agree that the Lahore dailies were consistently most hostile to the United States during this period; it is hardly coincidental that the last three papers in the Image Index rank-ordering are from Lahore. Likewise, most would agree that the friendliest paper to the United States was the Morning News, which appears at the top of the list.

CONCLUSIONS

The method appears to have some validity and satisfies the requirement of being relatively easy to use. If applied across various cultures, it would be possible to determine the "meaning" of various political concepts, including the image concept illustrated in this paper. Before further application, however, the following problems should be solved: (1) It appears from the data that the two dimensions (evaluation and dynamism) were not independent; this may be attributable to either problems with the simplified scaling or with the analysts' understanding of the method. A comparison between the scaling method used here and the more reliable semantic differential is recommended in order to determine if the advantage in judgment time is worth the loss in accuracy.

(2) A second problem is the arbitrary 30-day time base that was chosen for the analysis. Based on the number of items in the four-day sample, the number of items that appeared during the month was estimated by multiplying by 7.5. Expressed algebraically, where n is the number of items in the four-day sample, the Image Index was calculated as follows:

$$\text{Image Index} = \ln (7.5\, n)\, I_w$$

This expression can be rewritten as:

$$\text{Image Index} = (\ln 7.5 + \ln n)\, I_w$$

Since the logarithm of 7.5 is a constant, it is immediately apparent that the assumption of any arbitrary time period introduces a constant that will affect and, in the extreme, conceivably reverse the Image Indices. For example, assume the following conditions:

	Country X	Country Y
I	0.7	1.0
n	32.0	8.0

If the time period is assumed to coincide with the four days of the sample, the Image Index of country X is higher. If, however, the period of study is assumed to be 30 days and n represents the number of items sampled during four of these days, the Image Index for country Y is higher. The monthly base was chosen in this study for convenience. It could be argued that "images" are formed over longer rather than shorter periods of time. However, subsequent studies should compare various temporal standards to independent measures of "image" in order to arrive at the most valid approximation of the particular concept being measured.

A final consideration is the "stretching" effect that was introduced by multiplying the magnitude of the image vector by the logarithm of the number of items. Although the evidence on which this assumption was made is not conclusive, it seems reasonable that the function should be logarithmic rather than linear, and that the long-term effect of continuing exposure is positive. But, if there is a preponderance of negative items, the volume might tend to make the image more negative rather than more positive--the effect of the multiplier used here. The simplest method of analysis would be to designate the midpoint of the maximum magnitude of the image vector as a zero point, although it does not follow that the geometric midpoint is necessarily the psychological midpoint. Nonetheless, by designating this zero point, the resultant figure, whether positive or negative, could be "stretched" (positively or negatively) by the logarithmic multiplier. The most valid method cannot be determined by speculation, but must be discerned by additional testing and analysis. (If this method were applied to the data in this paper, the rank-order would not change, although the differences among the Image Indices for the three countries would increase.)

This paper suggests a method of conducting a cross-cultural press analysis. The discussion suggests that the method must be subject to additional testing before the results can be considered conclusive. Additional questions must be answered. The strengths of the method include the ease with which the study can be conducted and the partial validation found in the application illustrated in this paper. In summary, the study illustrates a means of efficiently and reliably completing the operation described by Krippendorff as essential to message analysis: transforming raw data to the notations referring to inaccessible states.

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THE PROVINCIAL PRESS AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYSIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

David I. Hitchcock, Jr.

INTRODUCTION

Scholars of communication have stressed the importance of the mass media to the modernization of developing countries. They have assigned numerous roles to the media, and have based their conclusions for the most part on field studies of media habits and impact.[1] The process of national development is described as one heavily dependent on the contribution of the mass media: "Unless the masses ... are exposed to new ways of thinking and led to adopt new attitudes, there can be little hope of any steady progress toward economic development, social modernization, and political maturity" (Pye, 1963, p. 13). Among the various media, it is suggested that the press, and especially the provincial press, plays a particularly important role as a promoter of development (Schramm, 1964, p. 227).

Are the media effectively carrying out the roles assigned to them by communications and political development scholars? Do those roles seem valid? I set out to determine at least tentative answers to these questions by reviewing the content of provincial newspapers in two comparable but quite different developing countries--Malaysia and the Philippines.[2] I began by sorting out various development roles assigned to the media in the literature into ten categories. Next, I examined issues of newspapers in the two countries for themes and items likely to support national development.[3] Based on the nature and frequency of the themes and items, I ranked the 30 selected newspapers on a scale of 1 to 10 for each of the ten development role categories (Berelson, 1952, pp. 119-122, 128, 139; Pool, 1959, p. 15). Thus, a newspaper could theoretically score 100 points. Such a paper does not exist in any developing country, and indeed, it is difficult to imagine exactly how the ideal development-oriented newspaper would read. The evaluation scale is somewhat arbitrary, however, its main use is as a tool of comparison, where both quantity and quality of development-oriented content are being analyzed.

The following are the ten development role categories I assembled from the literature: (1) providing generally useful "bill-board" information that supports social-political mobilization; (2) reporting evidence of development progress; (3) communicating news skills and practices that support development; (4) providing in-depth analysis and discussion of the relevant issues in

development; (5) carrying significant messages (exhortations) that are likely to strengthen development-oriented attitudes (cooperation, racial good-will, community efforts); (6) offering constructive criticism of governmental actions or inaction and serving as a "watchdog" of the public interest; (7) providing a means of "feedback" (the inter-active, two-way process of communications requires not only audience response but also communicator reaction to that response); (8) providing relevant empathy-building information about the world beyond personal experience; (9) encouraging pro-development attitudes through the association of reward and recognition with effort; (10) creating new images and values, thus improving the climate for development.

It would be impossible to identify press content as irrefutably helpful to development without also surveying its actual audience impact. Before truly conclusive judgments can be made about the role of newspapers in development a content and impact analysis of the same communications materials is desperately needed.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Based on a correlation of development roles with newspaper content, and using the one-to-ten rating, my analysis of thirty-two issues of twenty-five Philippine papers and thirty-two issues of five Malaysian papers determines that most newspapers are not effectively carrying out the development roles assigned to them (and to other mass media) by the communication scholars. Of 100 possible points the Malaysian papers scored 45 points, and the Philippine papers 34 points. Malaysian papers appeared to be carrying out four of ten development roles quite satisfactorily; the Philippine papers had satisfactory scores on only two of ten roles (see Table 1).

Scholars of communications may have expected too much from the press in its role as agent of development. However, the development roles that they have ascribed to the media do not seem inappropriate from this study. Before turning to the implications of these findings and to my concluding observations, let me describe the sampling of the provincial papers.

DEVELOPMENT ROLES OF PROVINCIAL PAPERS IN THE PHILIPPINES AND MALAYSIA

SOURCE OF GENERAL "BILL-BOARD" INFORMATION

The provincial papers in both countries carry out this most traditional of small newspaper roles quite effectively; Malaysia is slightly stronger here than the Philippines. They both give local readers essential information which enables them to function in greater unison--it makes them aware of the same events,

TABLE 1. RATING OF DEVELOPMENT ROLES OF THE PROVINCIAL PRESS IN MALAYSIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

DEVELOPMENT ROLES	MALAYSIA	PHILIPPINES
	Scale: 1 (lowest) to 10 (highest)	
1. "Bill-board information"	8	6
2. Report development progress	9	4
3. Carry development messages	8	4
4. Create new images and values	5	3
5. Provide new skills/practices	0	1
6. Provide discussion of issues	4	4
7. Government watchdog/critic	2	6
8. Empathy builder	6	2
9. Feedback channel	2	3
10. Motivate development attitudes via recognition/reward	1	1
TOTAL	45	34

conscious of the same instructions, able to recognize the same political and social symbols, and gives them a stronger sense of their various overlapping roles as citizen of their town, province, island, and country.[4] The Philippine papers carry more personalized news of "who did what to whom" (though one must turn to the columns to find out why), and there is considerable emphasis on crime, corruption, local politics, and social events. Information in the Philippine papers often appears to be published not so much for its importance but for its availability. Still, one can find out what is going on locally, what political leader is in town, and at least part of what he said at a local function; occasionally one learns what the mayor thinks about youth, education, crime; what the police chief is (or is not) doing about gambling; who is getting married; and who has died. PTA, civic, and local university events are briefly noted, but again these articles emphasize who attended rather than what occurred.

In both countries the provincial press prints schedules of local movies, ship and plane movements, want ads and legal notices; the latter consumed most of the space in the smaller Philippine weeklies. The Malaysian papers, while giving less information on goings and comings and containing less social news, tended to select more useful information and responded more directly to daily needs of its readers.

Some examples will point up the differences. "Are the rumors of trouble in Penang true?" The Echo admonishes its readers to "ignore all rumors" and prints an official's denial. "Are there government jobs available in Kota Kinabalu?" The Times lists the vacancies. "Where can training be obtained for better employment?" The Kuching Vanguard advertises a correspondence school. "How can one contribute to flood relief?" The Vanguard explains what to do, as the Philippine papers explain how to volunteer for "Operation Quick-Count" during a national election.

SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON LOCAL OR COUNTRY-WIDE PROGRESS IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

There is, on the average, almost twice as much development progress reportage in the Malaysian as in the Philippine papers, much of it made available through federal and state governments. Malaysian readers are constantly reminded that their government is working for the people by the frequent stories of completed roads and bridges, expanded airports, extended rural electrification, gains in education, new recreational facilities, port improvements, and better security cooperation with neighboring Indonesia and Thailand. In Malaysia, much of the development progress news originated in statements by Malaysian officials speaking at town assemblies, at openings of new projects, and ground-breaking ceremonies all over the country.

Either there are fewer such events in the Philippines, or the news of them is less well distributed. During the 1969 Philippine election campaign there were numerous charges and counter-charges about inadequate development plans and the usual amount of election pledging that "if reelected" barrio assistance would be expanded. But there were only occasional reports of actual pronouncements on development progress: for example, plans for pearl farming, improved local marketing, coconut research, animal husbandry, new loans for irrigation pumps, road building, and rural health clinics. Infrequently, a provincial paper in the Philippines ran a brief story about a conference on banking and development, "the insurance man and his community," local autonomy (for provincial officials), or teaching techniques. In the Philippines, one gains the impression that these stories appear more by accident than by design. In Malaysia, the impression of development progress is a positive one--the message is clearly broadcast that "we are steadily moving ahead, thanks to the people's cooperation and to the leadership of our government." In the Philippine papers, this same message must vie for reader credibility with the critical

complaints of editors and columnists, and with their constant emphasis on the negative aspects of life in the Philippines. Without conducting actual field studies, we cannot tell whether there is a closer correlation between actual conditions and what is reported in the papers in the Philippines or in Malaysia. We can only note that the persuasive power of progress stories will rapidly decrease if they paint a picture markedly rosier than the conditions actually surrounding the newspaper reader. There is more likelihood of this in Malaysia than in the Philippines.

Even if the progress reports dovetail with readers' first-hand observations, credibility will depend to some extent on how readers view the source in terms of trustworthiness and general esteem. Even if reports are accepted as factual, readers may not view them as necessarily indicating progress, since "facts may be successfully communicated without producing the opinion changes which they are intended . . . to produce" (Klapper, 1960, p. 88, 101).

In editorials and in the columns, there was little evidence that the papers of either country attempted to pull together their own reports of development progress. Only one editorial (out of a possible twenty-eight in the Malaysian papers we reviewed) summarized recent development progress (in Kota Kinabalu), and none appeared in the Philippine papers.

SOURCE OF NEW SKILLS AND PRACTICES SUPPORTING NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The literature on communications and national development has suggested that the media can transmit or create an awareness of new skills and practices, though the actual adoption normally requires interpersonal contact with the "change agents" and the example of respected opinion leaders (Schramm, 1964, pp. 140-174; Pool in Pye, 1963, pp. 247-248). The papers examined in this study, showed few instances of this type of information. In thirty-two issues of five Malaysian papers we found one column entitled "Tips on Coconut Planting" and one column on health advice. In the Philippines, we found regular columns on farming tips in three of the twenty-five papers, a regular column in two papers, entitled "What the Supreme Court Says" that explained legal rights and procedures, and in all thirty-two issues examined, only three other features that fall into this category--one paper published the entire election law, another featured one article on telephone etiquette, and one question-and-answer column on social security appeared. More generally, new practices (such as voting, joining volunteer groups, helping with poll watching, attending political meetings, giving aid to flood relief, taking the airplane) are encouraged by the newspapers. But in the literal sense, the skills of development are not being effectively transmitted.

PROVIDING ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF ISSUES IN DEVELOPMENT

There is a considerable gap between the role assigned to the press by communication scholars on development issues and the actual coverage in the provincial press of both Malaysia and the Philippines. We found few examples in either country of articles or columns that attempt to provide background to current developmental problems, and little effort was made to provide scope for controversy and debate. In all the Philippine papers reviewed, we found one lengthy article, "Perspective on Development" in the Cebu Republic; one article in the Bicol Mail on the population explosion (provided by the Philippine Press Institute); and one background article in the Naga Times on tax incentives. No other in-depth discussion--either one or two-sided--was observed in any column or editorial in the Philippine papers.

The Malaysian papers dealt in more detail and with somewhat greater frequency with development issues than papers in the Philippines. On two consecutive days the Straits Echo examined the pros and cons of Malaysian-Australian relations. The Kota Kinabalu Times discussed the need for a college in Sabah, and the Daily Express called for the establishment of farmer associations in East Malaysia and urged the government to promote Southeast Asian regional security.

In neither country's provincial press did we find much discussion of the more controversial issues relating to national development. The Philippine press, less restrained in dealing with controversy than the Malaysian press, rarely managed to shed as much light as heat on the pressing problems of development. Alternatives are usually not delineated and the issues (corruption, government inaction) usually provoke general complaints but little specific, constructive discussion. Issues relating to population growth, government-labor relations, and non-resident registration were not discussed in any column or editorial reviewed in Malaysia; in the Philippines, such hot issues as land reform and the population explosion (growth rates of 3.5 in the Philippines, 3.1 in Malaysia) were rarely mentioned and were not discussed in any editorial (1970 Philippines' Census; 1967 Malaysia Government Handbook).

CARRYING SIGNIFICANT MESSAGES (EXHORTATIONS) LIKELY TO STRENGTHEN DEVELOPMENT-ORIENTED ATTITUDES

Messages exhorting the people to various actions and attitudes were numerous in the papers of both countries. In Malaysia, these messages appeared in news stories more often than in editorials; in the Philippines, they appeared in both. In Malaysia, five out of twenty-eight editorials carried the following messages: police should show they are the people's friend; beware of Communist-inspired poison-pen letters and report them; promote multi-racial cooperation and goodwill; farmers should diversify their crops; village headmen should know their responsibilities. In the Malaysian papers,

exhortations reporting the statements of government officials at various assemblies and ceremonies (and some repeated frequently as slogans in boxed notices) included: ignore all rumors; learn Bahasa Malaysia; cooperate with all races; participate in the community; learn to read; go to the hospital if you are sick (instead of relying on traditional potions); adopt modern farming techniques; register if you want to vote; shift from the humanities to technical subjects of study; process timber instead of exporting the timber whole; be interested in your children's education; practice mutual self-help (gotong royong); beware of poison-pen letters; participate in voluntary civic organizations; be alert and helpful to the people (addressed to the armed forces). Since most of the messages were delivered orally before they appeared in the papers, some of the readers probably received the messages twice, and possibly three times, if radio reportage is included.

Philippine papers frequently urge their readers to vote "intelligently," "patriotically," and to consider the issues not just the personalities. But rarely do the editorials or columns go beyond general exhortation and the slogans of good civics. A paper that urges readers to consider the issues, not just the personalities, does not tell them what those issues are. It seems clear that in the Philippines, as shown in these papers at least, the leaders are focusing more on personalities than on issues. Pool's view that the media "also serve as educators for and employers of a new kind of politician . . . who is issue-oriented rather than oriented to personal identifications" is not reflected in this sample (Pool, in Pye, 1963, p. 253). In the Philippines (as throughout most of East Asia) political leaders appear more concerned with personal loyalties and identification than with the issues (Pye, in Finkle and Gable, 1966, p. 258).

In comparison with the Malaysian papers, Philippine provincial papers rarely urge specific actions or attitudes on their readers, and local officials use the press less in the Philippines to urge new ideas or behavior on their countrymen. In all the Philippine papers reviewed, there was only one story that urged readers to adopt a new practice (to invest in livestock and poultry production as a safe and profitable means of additional income), and one official's warning against electioneering by government employees.

No doubt the overwhelming concentration on the election enabled the local Philippine subscriber to be more conscious of his responsibility to vote, to participate at least this much in the political process than might otherwise have been true had there been no local paper or less coverage of the campaign. Thus, while the urban, middle-class citizen of provincial capitals in the Philippines may not find substantive discussions of relevant issues in his papers, he does get a constant reminder of a political world beyond his direct knowledge but one which involves, in the end, his own decision. In this fashion, political news stories probably assist the occasional rural reader and his more sophisticated

provincial city cousin to ease the transition from purely family, village, or town horizons to a gradual participation in the national polity.

The effectiveness of persuasion through these papers may also be hampered where messages directed at more rural, less advanced readership ignore possible differences in value orientation between sender and receiver (Festinger, 1966; Deutsch, in Farrell, 1966). The language and style, especially in Malaysia, appear to be urban-oriented as is the content. The papers seem to take for granted that sender and receiver have more or less the same references, understand more or less the same symbols, and share similar values about change, tradition, the present, past, and the future. Rural audiences, to the extent that there are any for these papers, may miss much that is implied and may be less likely to accept messages written in a more urban, sophisticated context, even where those messages (such as the responsibilities of village headmen) are directed specifically at them. For the generally urban (if provincial) audiences, the main effect of the various messages described above may be to remind them of what they already know and probably have accepted, at least to some degree (Pye, 1966, p. 169), to reassure them that these are indeed the opinions held by their leaders, and to suggest to them sore sort of priority in the messages that they, in turn, deliver downwards and outwards, in their professional or accidental capacities as "change agents" (Hovland, et al., 1953, p. 19).

OFFERING CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM AND ACTING AS WATCHDOG OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST

In this category the Philippine papers clearly have the edge over the Malaysian provincial papers, though, there is frequently more emotion than edification in the criticisms. They are constantly calling government officials to task for not carrying out their responsibilities or for some alleged political skullduggery. The mayor and police chief are popular targets of news stories, editorials, and columns, and the president and his wife are far from protected. In editorials and columns, provincial journalists demand that the police chief take action against illegal gambling, that the city auditor explain why certain temporary employees have not been paid, why "clean-up week" does not inspire City Hall to fix potholes in the streets; moreover, they ask (without, one feels, much expectation of any answer) why an unknown ex-policeman is appointed as police chief, if it's true that public funds were used to pave a local candidate's brother's driveway, and whether or not President Marcos is obstructing law enforcement because of political deals. But usually, the papers' critical comments, editorials and otherwise, are more lamentation than specific criticism. In florid writing, the editors and columnists despair over corruption, violence, and their leaders' duplicity. Their collective conclusion seems to be that the Philippines is rapidly going to the dogs--and that nothing can be done about it. One gets the impression that these journalists write from a deep sense of futility and frustration, and that this sense of helplessness may account for the lack

of specifics and of the careful investigation that typify many of their critical remarks. If their frequent allegations of wrong-doing were better prepared, they might be more effective in stimulating corrections. As it is, their cries sound dim and vague, albeit shrill voices in the wilderness, heard but not profoundly felt by the readers. Perhaps local officials read these papers anxiously, knowing that charges of malfeasance against them may appear. Perhaps, repeated photos of junk piles on the main streets or demands that the police chief take action have some effect, but in general, the public and local officialdom seem to be immune to the aggressive but usually nonspecific attacks of the press. Moreover, the writers themselves seem to have given up hope that their writing will have much influence. In short, as one Philippine observer of the press has said: "the result in many cases is a watchdog press which can only bark but cannot bite" (Arnoldo, 1969, p. 78).

The Malaysian provincial press is not so much a "watchdog" as a "house dog." Energetic advocate of government policies, carrier of many important development messages and reports of progress, the Malaysian press surveyed here engaged in almost no criticism of local or national government policies. Only an occasional news story carried any criticism of government leaders or their actions. In editorials the papers suggested that Malaysia should be more active in regional security affairs and that Sabah should have a college; they welcomed the seating of the federal court in East Malaysia and the release of detainees held in racial riots; more direct editorial criticism than this was not perceived in any paper reviewed.

In neither country were the papers vigilant about government action or that previously pledged. There was no review of past promises and present performance, no comparison of what an official said this year with what he said before, and no study of one budget versus another or last year's annual report versus this year's. The provincial papers are not providing a platform for the critical evaluation of government policies, goals and actions, by their own writing, by "outside" experts, or by any one else (Shils, 1957, p. 238; Duncan, 1966).

The pressures against criticism in the provincial papers of many developing countries are strong. Philippine provincial papers are financially precarious; some of them are owned or backed by leading families to whom criticism might prove embarrassing.[5] In Malaysia, the people reportedly (and not unnaturally) "consider the diminution of political liberty a small price for enhanced security" (Bass, 1970, p. 157). Whatever the reason, provincial papers in these two countries are not offering much constructive criticism: they are not effectively carrying out a development role generally assigned to the media, and especially to the press.

PROVIDING A MEANS OF "FEEDBACK" BETWEEN COMMUNICATOR AND AUDIENCE

The media are viewed by communication scholars as important to effective "feedback" between communicator and audience, broadening the base of decision-making and providing some participation in the process of change and some cohesiveness between distant populations and the larger centers of political power. The sense of powerlessness that rural audiences may feel upon realizing, through the gradual penetration of the mass media, how little influence they have on the course of events and decisions outside their village or town may be reduced somewhat through effective feedback channels. As rural populations become media participants, they will begin to have views and will look for means to express these both horizontally and vertically.

Newspapers can help "feedback" in numerous ways. They can carry lively "Letters to the Editor" columns, run polls, make sidewalk interviews, print panel discussions with "average people" represented; they can describe audience participation in their coverage of meetings and assemblies, and they can dig for comments from the "other party" in stories where allegations have been made. They can run "action" columns, and they can offer "guest" columns and arrange for stringer reports from outlying districts, so that rural opinion can better be heard in the provincial capitals.

In the provincial papers of Malaysia and the Philippines, we found very few good examples of journalistic "feedback." Letters to the Editor were few in Philippine papers, and those printed rarely dealt with issues of general interest. There were some letters in both countries that were in response to earlier charges, a kind of "setting the record straight" on a previous statement or report, complaining of a football decision, or criticizing Malaysian understanding of defense policies. But the bitter cry in the Kuching Vanguard from an anonymous villager for government help in improving roads, getting a new bus, and enforcing sampan capacity rules was the solitary example in either country of a rural voice "getting through," with a plea for more attention to conditions in the back country.[6]

Some Philippine papers printed polls taken elsewhere that showed the relative strength of various candidates, but none undertook this presumably too-costly venture locally; that effort would bring home to the less-sophisticated reader the connection between his own opinions and the political fate of his nation's leaders.

Cebu's "Right Now!" column was one of the few examples of effective reader-communicator exchange. This column, with its emphasis on getting official answers to the citizenry's questions on such issues as traffic control, street cleaning, delayed salaries, and poll watching, could be especially important in convincing readers that they can be heard and receive responses from

an all too distant, if not invisible, government. We found only one instance in either country of a reader response inspiring a newspaper to take action (this occurred in Penang, where the Echo was prompted to investigate an allegation concerning pornographic literature on the newsstands).

PROVIDING RELEVANT EMPATHY-BUILDING INFORMATION ABOUT THE WORLD BEYOND PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

The media can play a vital role through the process of "empathy," by teaching people participation, " . . . by depicting for them new and strange situations and by familiarizing them with a range of opinions among which they can choose." Media exposure "enlarges a person's view of the world ('opinion range') by increasing his capacity to imagine himself in new and strange situations ('empathy')" (Lerner, 1958, pp. 47-52, 96, 412). From this enlarged view of the world comes the realization that one's future need not resemble one's past and a growing desire to participate in the modernization process.

Empathy is, of course, a double-edged sword. Much of the information that fosters empathy may also stimulate unrealistic expectations, envy, or bitterness towards one's own government and an attitude of hopelessness about one's life. It is important that the media encourage reader empathy about issues that are relevant to their own lives and conditions and hence encourage national development.

Foreign news is, of course, an obvious source of empathy. The papers of provincial Malaysia offer much more foreign news than those of the Philippines. From these foreign sources, a Malaysian reader comes to see the political problems and ways of living in other countries: for example, he may see the prosperity of some, the poverty of others, the costumes and customs of other parts of the world, the social and economic freedom women are striving to attain in other parts of the world, the behavior of the young of both sexes in other lands, and the power and progress of certain countries (Japanese ads, trade, and shipping news are noteworthy here). Though this process is largely accidental, it can be directed. A newspaper can keep in mind not only the readers' normal curiosity about American strippers or British rock stars, but also the possible interest in stories from the capital city or abroad that describe how other people are solving problems that have some direct bearing and relevance to the readers' own lives. For instance these stories might be instructive: How is Korea handling land reform? What are the community service clubs of other countries doing for their communities? How are Japanese farmers organized to promote their own interests? How are city governments and volunteer organizations helping to thwart juvenile delinquency in western countries?

Rarely are the provincial papers of the Philippines and Malaysia carrying such relevant, development-directed, empathy-building stories. More often, non-local news deals with impersonal, political events, with the unusual

or with the frivolous (but still not entirely unhelpful) "world culture" news of films, fashion, and fads. Some of the syndicated items in the Malaysian press seem not only to have little relevance to local life but to be of little potential general interest either. The stories that explain safety measures against coal gas fumes in Wales, or how to "spot-clean" carpets were examples of the random quality of many syndicated columns.

Most of the foreign news and features in the Malaysian provincial papers in the sample came from UPI, Gemini News Service, and Reuters. In neither country did we find indigenous news agencies active as sources of foreign (or even national) news. Only two or three references to the Philippine News Service (PNS) appeared in the Philippines papers we reviewed. Bernama News Agency in Malaysia, started primarily to serve the provincial press, appears to be in no greater use by Malaysian provincial papers. The Philippine News Service is apparently active but appears to bring provincial news to the Manila papers, rather than carrying news from the capital to the provinces (Grossholtz, 1964, pp. 205-209; Feliciano and Icbon, 1967, pp. 18, 279). For foreign news, then, provincial papers in both countries appear to be largely reliant on the radio; for foreign feature material, they depend almost solely on the foreign news senders who are not writing for the interests and tastes of these areas.

ENCOURAGING PRO-DEVELOPMENT ATTITUDES THROUGH ASSOCIATION OF RECOGNITION AND REWARD WITH EFFORT

Recognition reinforces the point that "reward goes with effort," and thus strengthens motivations (Lerner, in Lerner and Schramm, 1967, p. 317). Reward and recognition makes people aware of what behavior is desired and what is expected from them as they begin to fulfill new roles in modernizing societies.

News stories that could support this role were infrequent in the papers of both countries. In the Philippine papers, we found two news stories of awards given to two public servants, and an announcement that certificate awards would be issued to those people who completed a course on developmental problems--a weak showing for rewards, given the number of papers reviewed. Instances of reward in the Malaysian provincial papers were equally infrequent. We found one story on the presentation of the "covetous" Malaysian Chief of State Award to two boys who had saved a third from drowning; lists of those people who had won the annual Mathematics prize in Kuching; lists of donors to flood relief; and the names of graduates from various training courses. In no instance in either country did a newspaper itself sponsor any award.

This absence of motivation stimulation through recognition and reward is particularly important, since it contrasts so markedly with the press in some other parts of the world, notably that of the Soviet Union.

CREATING NEW IMAGES AND VALUES THAT SUPPORT NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

One communications scholar concluded, after completing a survey in Turkey, "the greatest impact of Mass Media exposure seems to be in the cognitive realm--how the person perceives the world about him--rather than in the motivational or behavioral realms" (Frey, 1966, p. 186). Another writer suggested, "the role of the media in producing transformation in values and personality may be far more important to modernization than are the mere changes in actions resulting from media exhortations to action" (Pool, in Pye, 1963, p. 249).

In the two countries studied, we found that relevant information about the rest of the world was probably insufficient to create useful images among provincial readers. But what of the national scene? What image does the reader gain from these papers of his country and its condition? "What sort of orientation to government, politics and society do these papers provide?" (Grossholtz, 1964, pp. 212-213). These are very difficult questions; indeed, scoring the papers of either country for their role in creating new images and values was especially difficult. There were many examples of the Malaysian papers carrying information that should tend to foster a favorable image of nation, government, and of the future. Through reading the provincial press, the Malaysian can learn to recognize the symbols of authority, his relationship to his country and region, and his growing responsibilities as he becomes more socialized and politicized through media participation. Such examples were more frequent in the Malaysian papers than in those of the Philippines, and we would suggest that Malaysia has a slight edge in this category.

Through the Philippines papers reviewed, the reader can visualize a national identity, the Philippine nation, with a polity that operates through a system of national and local government that is run by men chosen by the people. He can see somewhat less clearly that much of this power and most of the decisions that affect him are made in Manila; he can conceptualize to some extent that the men who make those decisions think they are working on behalf of other people, indeed, of a majority in many instances; he can inadequately see how people in other parts of the country react to those decisions and in fact he has little information about what people elsewhere in the Philippines feel about anything. Through the press he can gain a picture of the pecking order in his society, both political and socioeconomic, he can see that certain people are more important, more influential than others and, he may thus assume that they are more responsible than others. There is some development news in each issue, some reminder that government <u>does</u> operate and that as a result, there are improvements--a marketing survey, new loans for irrigation pumps, more money for scientific research, more rural health clinics--there is news that people are working to improve conditions, to gain knowledge ("Operation Quick-Count"), and to conduct development symposia and seminars in teaching

techniques and local government administration. These articles--in the papers of both countries--printed without details, with little or no description of any two-way discussion between teacher and student or official and citizen, cannot be expected to carry much weight.

CONCLUSION

Even with all the caveats that communications research suggests with respect to the ability of a mass medium to change attitudes, there is no doubt that newspapers, like radio and television, can contribute to attitude formation and to attitude change when reinforced by interpersonal relations. Provincial papers in developing countries may be a major--in some instances as in Eastern Malaysia the only--source of regular written information relating to national development. As literacy rates improve and circulation increases, these papers could contribute importantly to the formation of attitudes conducive to national development.

Communications and development experts have outlined in numerous studies the various roles they believe the press and other media can play in contributing to national development. In two Southeast Asian countries I found a considerable discrepancy in what the provincial press has actually been doing for development from what they and other media are expected to do. I do not believe that this discrepancy arises out of the invalidity of the development roles outlined by the experts (though their expectations may have been too high). Several of the roles described, (creator of new images and values, provider of relevant empathy-building information) may be only partially open to conscious pursuit by editors; but all ten roles seem appropriate, for the Philippines and Malaysia as well as for other developing countries. I do not believe that essential development roles have been omitted, or that it is unrealistic to assign these roles to newspapers, even to the small, provincial ones examined here.

The crucial question is not the validity of these development roles but their recognition by editors, intellectuals, politicians, and government officials. What is needed more than anything else is wider understanding and agreement among communicators and decision-makers alike of: (1) what newspapers and the other media can legitimately do to assist national development, and (2) what journalists, intellectuals, and governments must do if the media are to fulfill their potential as agents of development. Our findings have suggested some of the weak spots in two countries, which are quite likely also to be found in other developing countries. To varying degrees, these are correctable. With the assistance of local universities and government ministries, newspapers can surely provide more specific information on new skills and practices; with the cooperation of local university professors, editors should be able to supply their readers with more expert information through "guest columns" and with an independent source of professional opinion on the development issues of the

day; with the assent of government information offices (which should realize the importance of such articles to effective communications) these and similar newspapers can provide more cogent descriptions of the issues and alternatives facing the region or country as it strives to modernize itself; editors can be made aware of the importance of stimulating feedback through forums, polls, letters and question-and-answer services. Editors can come to understand the importance of selecting relevant, empathy-building news, not only to stimulate psychic and social mobility, but also to show readers relevant experiences about development in Asia and elsewhere. Perhaps with government and business cooperation, newspapers could give recognition to and offer reward for contributions to development. This may not only help development but could also boost newspaper circulation.

Of course, even once these roles are recognized and agreed to by the appropriate leadership, there will be important obstacles to effective development journalism. Lack of funds is likely to be a major problem. Provincial newspaper staffs may not be full-time; the source of national and international news and features available to them may be scarce (or restricted to monitoring radio broadcasts); they may not be able to afford news agency services (if foreign, these may not always be locally relevant); they probably cannot afford to pay for contributions by leading intellectuals and other experts; and they probably cannot support an effective research and retrieval mechanism (thus rendering them incapable of analyzing the present in relation to the past). To overcome these financial obstacles and to play a larger role in development, provincial newspapers will probably need more government assistance. This assistance may be in the form of postal, telegraph, and tax relief, newsprint subsidies, special travel rates for reporters, and closer cooperation from government and academia in presenting new development skills and techniques. What is needed above all are speedy and regular national news and feature services designed to serve the needs of the provincial press and provide them with a reliable source of background information, so that each day's news and commentary is not presented in a vacuum, with no past history and no comparative information.[7] One important finding from this study is that indigenous news agencies in the Philippines and Malaysia appear not to have been frequently used by provincial papers.[8]

Central governments and press associations need to consider how provincial papers can best be assured a steady supply of relevant national and foreign news and features otherwise often unavailable to them. Governments and press associations should also consider how best to assure that political or financial pressures on newspapers are not permitted to mute the frank discussion of development issues, in Malaysia, the Philippines, or elsewhere.

Whether newspapers can be as intentionally useful in development as some scholars have suggested is still uncertain. Empirical evidence is not all in; field research still needs to be done, to relate newspaper <u>content</u> on development to its <u>impact</u> on the attitudes of media users.

Such impact study, combined with content analysis, might suggest a revision in the development roles of the media. It may be, for instance, that even under the most ideal conditions and in the best of all possible development-oriented newspapers, actual news story and commentary substance will have less impact on national development than the mere repetitions of names, phrases, slogans, and titles--the unifiers and symbols of nationhood.

Further research may show that the potential of the mass media for national development is disappointingly small; but developing states have too many problems and too little time to waste whatever potential these channels of communication possess. Provincial newspapers and the other mass media probably can contribute to modernization if government officials, political leaders, journalists, intellectuals, and rural developers will recognize their potential and give them the copperation and support they deserve.

NOTES

1. For discussion of the importance and role of the mass media in national development, see: Schramm, 1964, pp. 38, 43, 44, 78, 127; Pye, 1963, especially pp. 13-14, 148, 237, 247; Rogers, 1969, especially pp. 9, 99, 135; Deutschmann, et al., 1968, p. 107; Lerner and Schramm, 1967; Frey, 1966; Fagen, 1966, p. 135; Shils, 1957, p. 242; Lerner, 1958; Pye, 1966; and McClelland, 1961.

2. A number of scholars have noted that while there are various studies of media impact in developing countries, there are fewer analyses of media content. See Pye, 1963; Fagen, 1966; and Rogers, 1969, p. 122--"Especially useful would be cross-cultural assessments of the nature of mass media messages. Are these messages particularly in favor of change in less developed countries?"

3. There are over 100 weekly provincial papers in the Philippines; about 75 of them have circulations of less than 5,000. The 25 Philippine papers surveyed in this study consisted of the larger papers, mostly published once weekly, sometimes thrice weekly, rarely daily, ranging from 5,000 to over 10,000. The four papers in Davao and Cebu respectively, the largest provincial cities, were included along with papers in Iloilo, Naga, Dagupan, Baguio, and six other towns. All the papers reviewed were in English, though seven of these had vernacular inserts.

There are about 50 newspapers in Malaysia, of which about half are in Chinese, fourteen in English, seven in Bahasa Malaysia, two in Tamil, and one each in Punjabi and Kadazan. This study covered the five largest English dailies in the three major provincial capitals: in Penang the Straits Echo (circ. 11,000); in Kota Kinabalu the Sabah Times (circ. 22,000), and Daily Express (circ. 15,000); and in Kuching the Sarawak Tribune (circ. 4,500) and the Vanguard (circ. 9,500). The two Kota Kinabalu papers have vernacular inserts in Bahasa Malaysia and Kadazan. While Chinese papers in East Malaysia are more numerous, the English papers reviewed generally have the larger circulation.

4. What Philip Hauser aptly refers to as the "achievement of collective consciousness," in Finkle and Gable, 1966, p. 62.

5. The editor of the Cebu Southern Tribune has written that provincial journalists in the Philippines frequently live under the threat of the powerful. The fact that many are forced by inadequate pay to take other jobs makes them expecially vulnerable to outside pressures (See Singh, 1963, p. 36).

6. "I suppose that the Government Officers . . . are waiting for school children to be drowned . . . For God Sake (sic), please do something for the poor people who live across the river."

7. Legal notices and second class post privileges are presently the only forms of government assistance to provincial papers in the Philippines and Malaysia.

8. According to The Asian Press (published by the Press Foundation of Asia, 1969), the Wireless News Agency sends foreign and domestic news to fifteen provincial papers, and the National News Service feeds rural papers as well as radio and TV stations. However, we found no citation of either service in any newspaper and very few citations of the larger Philippine News Service.

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MASS COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS OF BURMA, MALAYSIA, AND THAILAND: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS*

Paul P. Blackburn

INTRODUCTION

Despite the widespread recognition that the mass media have transformed the world into a "global village," few developing societies have exhibited a consistent set of attitudes regarding the proper response to this revolutionary new situation. Generally speaking, most of the growth in usage of domestic mass communications channels has been spurred by private, commercial interests (and their bureaucratic allies) reacting to presumed popular tastes. Government interaction with the media has typically been less an orchestrated implementation of a coherent "grand strategy" of communications development and usage than the gradual accumulation of relatively autonomous responses to specific situations.

As governments more and more come to realize the potential of the media in serving overall national development aims, they are, at the same time, faced with the challenge of relating media activities to broad national objectives. For example, to what extent are the media expected to legitimize the rule of the existing leadership? To inculcate certain ideas and attitudes? To "mobilize" the people? To stimulate tax and license revenues? To earn commercial profits for media producers (private and governmental)? To provide channels for communication within and between various bureaucratic elements? To satisfy popular demand for entertainment? To supply a means for gauging public opinion? Although a nation's mass media system can perform many functions simultaneously, a careful delineation of objectives is required when determining the budgets (and foreign exchange resources) to be allocated to media development and information programs, establishing guidelines for monitoring the content of imported materials, and responding to the demands of opposing political elements for access to the

*Editor's Note: This paper deals with three communication systems in Southeast Asia as of 1970. Although its findings are dated by recent changes, particularly in Malaysia and Thailand, we include it here as a useful typology for comparative analysis. Using this typology as a guide, the reader can better compare the 1970 situation with that in 1976, or any future date, for all countries that interest him.

media. While some developing countries appear to have dealt systematically with some of these issues, in most cases the mass media systems contain large areas of activity whose evolution has been incidental to any centralized planning.

Just as governments have tended to treat mass communications in terms either of untested hypothesis or piecemeal program, the scholarly study of communications and national development has embraced a wide ranging but rather disjointed body of theory and data. Most existing scholarship in the field consists of either (1) the presentation of raw data that is frequently suspect, usually difficult to compare between countries, and seldom subjected to critical evaluation within a general theoretical framework, or (2) the sweeping generalizations of social scientists from various disciplines who have become intrigued by various facets of subject. Though a few--notably Deutsch, Lerner, and McClelland--have attempted to relate empirical data and grandiose theory, neither they nor those concentrating on specific countries or individual media have systematically treated communications and development in terms of comparative national systems--the perspective to be used here.

The three Southeast Asian nations selected for this analysis share a number of geographical, historical, economic, religious, and other characteristics that would seem to point the societies toward analogous communications objectives, infrastructures, and content. Investigation of the three systems in mid-1970, however, revealed such striking differences as to suggest the presence, not of a single model of "Southeast Asian" communications and national development, but rather, the existence of three quite distinct communications systems. Perhaps each system was sui generis. I would suggest that they may be the beginnings of a more comprehensive typology of mass media systems in developing countries.

In each of the three countries described here there existed a blend of activities inherited from previous periods, and those more or less willed by the existing political leadership. Even that part that had been shaped by high-level decisions was largely the result of a number of pragmatic initiatives and accommodations, many of them made on a medium-by-medium basis. Nonetheless, empirical observation of system performance in the three cases revealed internal consistencies that form the basis for the theoretical generalizations and tentative typology offered here.

BURMA

Burma's communications behavior suggested that it could properly be called an "elite-oriented ideological system." Its elite orientation was demonstrated by the fact that the primary effort, in that very carefully controlled environment, was directed toward the transmission of political messages for the indoctrination of Burma Socialist Programme Party cadre and other elite groups

such as officials and advanced students. Despite the holding of much-publicized "mass rallies" for workers and peasants--who were for the most part local labor and farm leaders--the Burmese Government (GUB) made little attempt to program for a mass audience, whether that was conceived as voters, consumers, or "the people" in a general sense. Insofar as the masses were reached at all by media output produced by the GUB, the exposures were largely either pass-along communications from the elites, or the secondary efforts of publications, radio programs, and films produced for the elite audience. Private output, such as periodicals and motion pictures, to some extent sought a mass audience, but the constant GUB inveighing against the frivolity of these activities, the restrictions placed upon them, and the GUB's persistent attempts to increase their ideological content all reflected a governmental desire to minimize the dissimilarities and discrepancies between official output and that of private media.

GUB domination of the Burmese mass media system was almost complete. In addition to continuing the government control of the Burmese Broadcasting System (BBS), the Revolutionary Council (RC) after seizing power in 1962, took over virtually all newspaper activity, most of the nation's periodicals, and many aspects of the motion picture industry. It carefully supervised the importation and distribution of basic raw materials and both foreign and domestic media output by applying import restrictions, censorship, direct sanctions on activities perceived as dysfunctional to the system, and mechanisms such as state-run "people's shops." The complete ban on local production of materials in Chinese and Indian languages was a vivid example of sanctioning.

The instances of actual decline or only modest expansion in Burmese media performance reflected not so much the inevitable consequences of a stagnating economy as a series of conscious GUB decisions to hold back the expansion of the media; it usually offered the explanation that the restrictions were temporarily required in order to preserve precious foreign exchange. The 1970 level of newspaper publishing at perhaps only 50 percent of its economic potential, the virtually total ban on the importation of radio receivers, and the unwillingness of the GUB to introduce television or to expand its radio broadcasting beyond the single Rangoon facility all suggest a print-oriented, elite, mass media system.

The GUB not only took steps to curtail the proliferation of the media but it also went to considerable effort to ensure the proper ideological content to the messages that were carried by the system. Believing as it did that "the mass communications media in general have great powers of organization, agitation and education," (M.M., 1970, p. 28) the GUB carefully monitored all media output--private periodicals, feature films, and even popular recorded songs--in its efforts to maximize "socialist content." Two apparent motivations explained this pervasive concern with media content: (1) The GUB feared that divisive influences created or exacerbated by the media could further political disintegration and movement in the direction of a type of capitalism in which the nation's economy (and, potentially, its political fate) once again fell into the hands of foreigners

and local alien minorities, 2. The Revolutionary Council had developed a national ideology that it felt was appropriate to the needs of contemporary Burma, and it was anxious to program the available communications channels in such a fashion as to impart to party cadre and other elite elements--and (presumably) through them to the people as a whole--the major ideological components of the "Burmese Way to Socialism."

MALAYSIA

Malaysia could be described as a laissez-faire, multi-communal system. First of all, in this system an official policy of integration around Malay norms was applied so leniently that it had little effect on the bulk of the country's media activities, which were for the most part communally-oriented. Secondly, because of severe communal differences and tensions, locally-produced media content tended to be very bland.

Like Burma, Malaysia largely retained the Ministry of Information it had inherited from the British. However, the evolution of information programming in the two societies was quite different. A major distinction occurs in their approaches to media products by and for the local Chinese and Indian communities. While some Malay chauvinists (the "ultras") might have dreamed of applying Burmese-style restrictions on mass media access to these minorities, the ethnic balance in the country was such that any vigorous prosecution of that sort of policy would have been impossible without harsh, permanent repression well beyond the capability of any single group. Moreover, whereas Burma's prohibitions on Chinese and Indian media production eliminated a relatively small share of the total output, a similar move against non-Malay media products in Malaysia would have affected the bulk of local and imported materials.

Commenting generally on the role of communications in development, Russett has said that although communications could help to build national unity, "if the mass media express themselves in a welter of local languages the effects may be extremely fissiparous" (Russett et al., 1972, p. 105). This observation described the choice faced by the Malaysian Government (GOM)--to attempt to force the use of Malay upon the non-Malay communities or to permit continuation of the "welter of local languages" and their potential "extremely fissiparous" effects. The GOM's answer was a pragmatic one--accept the communal divisions in the short run, while at the same time count on the steady development of Malay usage in the schools and elsewhere to produce a single common language eventually. However, this long-range national objective was so far in the distance and so half-heartedly pursued that it raised questions as to the practicality of the objective itself and/or the means being employed to reach it. In fact, GOM policy was so lenient toward communally-focused media products that on the basis of actual performance rather than stated GOM aspiration the system could

be described as relatively (though not absolutely) laissez-faire with respect to the level of governmental intervention.

The 1970 GOM intervention in the system was confined largely to the activities of the Ministry of Information and to the proscriptions placed on racially inflammatory material by the private media. A more interventionalist policy would have involved both an increase in the governmental output on explicitly pro-Malay or multi-communal themes on the one hand and the imposition of stronger measures to reduce the flow of imported materials. Only much greater GOM involvement in determining the type of content to reach the Malaysian public would have reversed a situation in which most messages were fashioned to appeal to a single audience. Of these messages, many were in fact produced primarily for audiences in other countries--the Republic of China, Singapore, Indonesia, India, the United Kingdom, and the United States--and thus tended to produce sentiments of attachment to the country of origin.

The GOM's tolerance of a high degree of communally-based programming, despite official aspirations to the contrary, appeared to stem from factors both political and economic. Politically, the GOM was simply not in a position to be able to insist on an entirely Malay-oriented media output, nor could it afford to alienate its Malay supporters by taking a frankly multi-communal stance. In addition, the government was faced with the need to communicate with the different communities in the languages that they spoke at the time rather than in some language that they might speak in the future. Economically, too, there were strong motivations for a laissez-faire policy. Radio and television, since the advent of commercial broadcasting in the mid-1960s, had proven themselves effective money-earners for the GOM; however, any attempt to encourage the increase of radio and TV content in Malay or on Malaysian themes would conceivably have threatened to impede the flow of advertising revenues from Chinese and Western firms. Likewise, efforts to require Malay subtitles on imported films or to institute protectionist policies while encouraging a local film industry would have been a direct challenge to Shaw and Cathay, the dominant film distributors within Malaysia. Only in the press and publications field--the GOM founded "Bernama" (and the Language and Literature Agency) and in 1970 required local production of materials formerly printed in Singapore--did the government adopt policies that were likely to produce a significant shift to a Malaysian focus for mass media content. Despite such measures, the nation's mass media system remained predominantly non-Malay.

Malaysian official information programming was carried out by a well-supported Ministry of Information. This organizational structure, as well as the general lack of fragmentation within the Malaysian bureaucracy, gave the GOM the potential for the kind of centralized, complex, and efficient information system that would be considerably beyond the capability of Thailand. Although the GOM in 1970 intended to continue to use its information capacity in

support of the nation's economic development programs, it was not clear how much of an effort would be made in the future to disseminate a consistent ideological position, either by using messages conducive to building a Malay-oriented national consciousness or those promoting multi-communal accommodation, or else to finding some clearly-defined synthesis of the two.

In terms appropriate for the investigation of other systems, the major characteristics of a laissez-faire, multi-communal system, such as Malaysia's, seem to be these: (1) the government share of total media output is small, while that of imports is great; (2) ethnic tensions produce communally-based but overtly innocuous political messages; (3) there is a clear discrepancy between messages produced by the government on behalf of its vision of an ideal integrated society and the particularist messages produced commercially for the different communities; (4) the government is highly sensitive to the attitudes and policies of outside countries having ethnic ties to the major domestic communities; and (5) periodic racial violence reinforces official and private reluctance to deal explicitly with communal problems.

THAILAND

Communications in Thailand in 1970 comprised what may be described as a decentralized commercial system. There was atomization of activity by various Royal Thai Government (RTG) and private elements, and nearly all activities were given validity and impetus by the commercial revenues that they generated.

The decentralized character of the Thai media in many respects mirrored that of Thailand's bureaucracy as a whole. Riggs, who called Thailand a "bureaucratic polity," said that the mass media were agents neither of an organized public nor of a monolithic state apparatus, but rather,

> . . . the Thai system was marked by a high degree of competition and the free flow of rival, even contradictory, opinions and information. The political struggle, however, was not primarily between political parties, interest groups, and the mass media, all seeking support from a soverign people. Rather, the public was a plastic and somewhat pliable audience before whom the real power struggle was enacted by competing groups within the bureaucracy itself (Riggs, 1966, p. 152). [1]

Mosel argued that the Thai mass media expansion occurred without causing disruption to the society. He said that Thailand's homogeneity, lack of a colonial past, and tradition of adaptation "created considerable ease in accommodating to change and promoted a balanced set of attitudes toward innovation," thus making it possible for the mass media to reinforce traditional values and produce changes that mainly "encourage the political culture by providing new ways for playing old roles" (Mosel, in Pye, 1963, pp. 185-186, 228).

RTG information activities appeared to be spurred by three major motivations: public relations, the desire to impart information, and financial remuneration. The public relations component involved giving publicity to particular RTG elements or persons in order to enhance their prestige. Generally speaking, there was more of this kind of glorification of individuals or ministries and departments in Thailand than in either Burma or Malaysia (Siffin, 1966, p. 240).[2] The information motive impelled the work of RTG elements that carried out genuine information and psychological operations programs of various kinds (including those of a face-to-face character) to inform narrow constituencies or general audiences of the work of those elements within the overall RTG framework. Although these activities were dispersed among many commands, ministries, and departments, they were an important ingredient of Thai communications, and their level may have equalled or even surpassed those of their more centralized, efficient, staid, and single-minded Burmese and Malaysian counterparts. The third impetus behind RTG information programming, the commercial one, was evident in the great bulk of official mass media activities. The commercial element was not only essential for generating funds for the ongoing operation of the different activities, but also provided the profit incentive for rewarding those responsible for the media products.

The profit motive was probably the main incentive behind the dramatic expansion of mass media activity in Thailand in the 1960s, especially in the radio and television fields. Conversely, a possible explanation of the lack of RTG motion picture activity was that such operations, by their nature, did not ensure a stable economic return such as radio, TV, and publications provided. If a formula could have been developed for the commercialization of official motion picture production and distribution--a search which also was undertaken from time to time by the GOM's Filem Negara--it would perhaps have provided the needed incentive for the establishment of a central national film unit, or at least of a limited number of official units of high technical quality.

In describing Thailand's peculiar brand of official commercial activity, Wilson pointed to "the extraordinary organization of radio broadcasting" as illustrative of this type of administrative autonomy, and added that these operations were made possible by each department's "revolving fund" (Wilson, 1962, pp. 184-185). Without such arrangements the individual element would not have had adequate funds for carrying out its activities, as budgeted funds for information purposes were rare. This pattern of behavior, though difficult to measure or to control, helped produce an expanding communications network that covered most of the society with print and electronic media and transmitted mutually-reinforcing messages, which, in most instances, contained national development content relevant to the objectives of the RTG. At the same time, however, it was not unlikely that greater education opportunities, economic advancement, and politicization would bring increased discord between various message sources (especially in the print media), both within the bureaucracy and between the private and governmental sectors.

Despite indications that the RTG intended to centralize some aspects of Thailand's communications system--through greater press and radio controls and the formation of an interagency information programming umbrella (NIPSO)--these measures were unlikely to change substantially the mid-1970 style of decentralized operations. Such patterns seemed endemic to Thai bureaucratic behavior; at the same time they had proven quite lucrative to both commercial enterprises and RTG elements.

Thailand's system was laissez-faire for different reasons and in a somewhat different sense than the Malaysian communications system. The GOM's laissez-faire position regarding the media was a result of such factors as inherited British policies of nonintervention in the private sector and a sensitivity to the economic and political risks of such intervention; the Thai system was laissez-faire in the sense that, despite official permeation of most aspects of the media, there was little central direction to communications activity. Thailand's decentralized, complex, and ingenious blend of state capitalism and individual free enterprise in communications activities evolved not so much out of necessity as from its profitability, convenience, and efficiency. Although the generally permissive RTG attitude toward imported and locally-produced media materials could potentially have produced class, racial, or political fissures in the society, there was very little perceived danger of such eventualities in Thailand; in Burma and Malaysia the issue was of critical concern. The relaxed Thai attitude was born of a belief that Thailand's homogeneous society and its ability to domesticate imported materials immunized it against the possible dysfunctional effects of such content.

INVESTIGATION OF OTHER SYSTEMS

It is the writer's hope that the typology derived from these three profiles will be useful to those attempting to understand the mass media systems of other societies.

The Burmese system, with its emphasis on control, cadre-contacts, mobilization, and ideology, shares some obvious features with other socialist countries, though some of these may pay greater attention to the electronic media and may be more willing to permit a media output aimed at local minorities. In this latter respect Burma also invites comparison with Malaysia, where the indigenous majority was also threatened with loss of preeminence in conditions of unbridled economic and political competition. That Burma had chosen a path of harsher restrictions than Malaysia was in part a function of the Burman's relative strength vis-a-vis the other national groups (at least in the urban areas), a power considerably greater than that which the Malays could apply with respect to the Malaysian Chinese. In any typology attempting to describe both Burma and Malaysia as "multi-communal," a distinction should be made between the Burmese

TABLE 1. COMPARATIVE INDICES FOR BUR[illegible], MALAYSIA, AND THAILAND*

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

	Burma	Malaysia	Thailand
1969 Population (in millions)	27.0	10.6	36.3
Percentage of literacy	70	43	68
Percentage of dominant ethnic group	75	50	82
GNP (US $ million)	2,009	3,430	5,510
Per capita GNP (US $)	76	333	157
Per capita yearly GNP growth (1965-1968)	0.0	4.5	4.9

GOVERNMENT INFORMATION BUDGETS

	Burma	Malaysia	Thailand
Information budget (US $ million)	7.3	18.1	2.3
Information budget as percentage of total budget	2.7	1.7	0.2
Broadcasting as percentage of information budget for operations	8.2	62.4	78.3

NEWSPAPERS

	Burma	Malaysia	Thailand
Daily newspapers	8	37	18

*(all figures 1970 unless otherwise indicated)

TABLE 1 (continued)

NEWSPAPERS (continued)

	Burma	Malaysia	Thailand
Circulation	258,700	657,100	703,500
Circulation per 100 people	1.0	6.2	1.9
Non-daily newspapers	--	4.0	52.0
Circulation (per issue)	--	28,000	202,000
Per capita newsprint consumption	0.27	1.83	1.18

PERIODICALS

	Burma	Malaysia	Thailand
Domestic titles	61	40	209+
Annual circulation	20,543,200	7,402,000	66,381,900
Private	8,562,000	5,314,000	55,523,000
Government	11,981,200	2,088,000	10,858,900
Imported titles	71	350-450	300-400
Annual circulation	390,000	3,060,000	662,000

RADIO

	Burma	Malaysia	Thailand
Stations (unique transmissions)	3	21	142
Medium wave	2	20	113
FM	1	1	29
Receivers	800,000	1,000,000	4,000,000

TABLE 1 (continued)

RADIO (continued)

	Burma	Malaysia	Thailand
Receivers per 100 people	3.0	9.4	11.0

TELEVISION

	Burma	Malaysia	Thailand
Stations (unique transmissions)	--	2	9
Receivers	--	167,000	500,000
Receivers per 100 people	--	1.6	1.4

MOTION PICTURES

	Burma	Malaysia	Thailand
Commerical features (1969)	65	14	78
Government newsreels	37	--	--
Government documentaries	12	60	30-50
USIS newsreels and documentaries	--	--	27
Theaters	401	820	950
Seats	280,000	470,000	400,000
Seats per 100 people	1.0	4.4	1.1
Mobile units (private and governmental	20	195	433
Annual attendance	182,500,000	100,000,000	150,000,000
Per capita annual attendance	6.8	9.4	4.1

type of single-community dominance and the Malaysian pattern of extreme pluralism and political/economic stand-off.

Using Malaysia as a model, let us seek similar behavior in other multi-communal societies, with two major ethnic groups--Ceylon, Cyprus, and Guiana. It would be particularly pertinent in such countries to look for signs of high centralization of official communications, inconsistencies between official messages promoting integration and private communally-oriented messages, heavy volume of imported materials, and strong pressures on the private media to avoid discussion of issues touching on the racial divisions of the society.

The Thai model of decentralized commercialism within a laissez-faire bureaucratic polity invites comparison with other nations that show similar degrees of homogeneity, continuity of self-government, and autonomy and pervasiveness of their official institutions.

One possible approach for comparing these three systems with each other and with those in other societies would be to view them as reflecting different stages or priorities on a continuum of political development. Rustow has cited the three basic "quests" of identity, authority, and equality/participation, (Rustow, 1967, p. 36) while Lucian Pye has proposed the three "dimensions" of equality, capacity, and differentiation (Pye, 1966, p. 47). Speaking more specifically about communications and development, Pye has stated that there are three main stages: (1) strengthening the legitimacy of government; (2) mobilizing the population; and (3) "facilitating adjustments among different emerging interests" and providing channels for communication between the people and the rulers (Pye, 1963, pp. 229-230).

Applying these categories to this discussion, it could be argued that Burma's mass media system reflects a nation seeking authority, capacity, and/or mobilization; that Malaysia is concerned with problems of identity and governmental legitimacy; and that Thailand is both increasing its capacity and opening up channels for greater popular participation. With the same stages-of-growth analysis, it is also possible to raise criticisms of performance in the three countries. For example, it can be argued that Burma's search for authority has been hampered by the fact that it had not yet completed its identity phase; that a major cause of the May 1969 riots in Malaysia was a premature emphasis on equality/participation; and that Thailand faced unnecessary problems because of its over-emphasis on either capacity or equality (or its inability to settle clearly on one of these alternatives).

Although such an interpretation involves the comfortable and appealing ideas that there is a single pattern of development, these three countries do not readily lend themselves to such a neat sequential hypothesis. Burma appeared at once to be searching for identity, capacity, and participation (at least in the sense of mobilizing its worker and peasant leaders). It is not at all clear which,

if any, of these was given or should have received higher priority. In Malaysia the fundamental issue of national cohesion seemed likely to remain the basic concern of that country no matter how much authority or capacity the government had, or how much the general population was allowed to participate in discussions of the major issues of the society. For Thailand, on the other hand, questions of identity, legitimacy, and mobilization had not been, and probably would not become, matters of great concern. Rather than treating the three mass media profiles as reflections of separate stages in a unilinear process, it makes more sense to view them as systems that responded to a set of similar challenges but were nonetheless evolving basically along quite different lines.

Another, more fruitful approach is to attempt to isolate a limited number of key variables that can be used as the basis for multi-nation typologies. The following list of variables (for which numerical values could potentially be assigned) is suggestive of the range of factors that might be considered in such a typology:

Societal Variables:

1. Integration
2. Degree of political/economic control
3. Rate of economic growth

Mass Media System Variables:

1. Media development
2. Government intervention
3. Ideological/national development content
4. Emphasis on elite audiences
5. Exogenous content
6. Restrictions on media hardware
7. Restrictions on domestic content
8. Emphasis on print (versus electronic) media
9. Commercialization

Assessment of a nation's level of integration involves making a determination of the extent to which it is either homogeneous or heterogeneous (multi- communal), and, at a more profound level, how seriously the body politic is torn by the divisions that do exist. Of the three countries under study here, Malaysia in 1970 was clearly a multi-communal society; Thailand was quite homogeneous; and Burma was somewhere in-between. Rustow noted that Thailand and Burma could be called "linguistic states"--ones in which a single language is spoken by more than two-thirds of the population; while Malaysia was among those countries with a variety of unrelated languages having their own literary traditions.[3] Although Burma by this reckoning was a linguistic state, the fact that 25 percent or more of its population was non-Burman (and a serious problem for the government) qualifies it for our purposes, as multi-communal. Regardless of how this factor is measured--by language, ethnicity, or religion--it is a useful indicator of the

kinds of language content that will be carried by the media as well as an indicator of the extent to which there exist common symbols that can be taken for granted in the media output.

The degree of political and economic control reveals a general tenor of the mass media environment. In the case of Burma, Malaysia, and Thailand, it is significant that although all three governments were quite authoritarian, Burma's doctrinaire socialist leadership sought a measure of domination over the society that went far beyond anything contemplated in more permissive, capitalistic Malaysia and Thailand.

The rate of economic growth, measured by per capita GNP or some other index, can point up important differences in the objective economic situation facing different countries. The weakness of Burma's economy was doubtless a major factor in its reluctance to use foreign exchange and other resources for purchasing media hardware, as well as being an explanation of why it had not generated the level of commercial revenues that spurred the rapid growth of radio and television in Malaysia and Thailand.

Media development can be measured in many ways, including its geographical spread, gross output, and per capita measures of newspaper copies, newsprint, periodicals, radio, television sets, movie theater seats, motion picture attendance, and the like. Though sometimes misleading, these indices provide some of the best measures for determining how "developed" the mass media of a given society may be at any given time. Such factors, for example, demonstrate that Burma lagged far behind the other two countries in all respects except for film production and attendance; that Malaysia was strong in newspapers, radio and television receivers, and movie seats, but was weak in periodical and motion picture output; and that Thailand was the leader in periodical production and radio receivers. Note that when measured against the "UNESCO minimum" levels of ten daily newspaper copies, five radios, two television sets, and two theater seats per one hundred persons (UNESCO, 1961, p. 16), Burma was well below in all areas; Malaysia was high in radios (9.4) and theater seats (4.4); Thailand exceeded only the radio (11.0) minimum. Malaysia, however, was the closest to meeting the newspaper quota (6.9 copies, as against Burma's 1.0 and Thailand's 1.9), and was not far from the television minimum (1.6 sets to Thailand's 1.4).

The level of government intervention in the mass media system can be observed from the perspectives of budget (that is, information expenditures as a percentage of the total national budget), the amount of official programming, the nature of governmental regulations and procedures applied to the media, and/or the ratio of government-to-private activity. The relatively heavy amount of GUB intervention was demonstrated by these facts; it devoted a higher proportion of its budget to information (2.7 percent as compared with Malaysia's 1.7 percent and Thailand's 0.2-0.5 percent); it ran the country's newspapers and put out most of its periodicals; and it exercised strong control over the film industry. Malaysia's

active Information Ministry notwithstanding, there was relatively little GOM involvement in media activities aside from radio and television, except in the negative sense of proscribing a wide range of media content. Thailand's government had a comparable degree of detachment from private communications activity, but its official elements were quite heavily engaged in the commercial media--periodicals, radio, and television.

Emphasis on ideological and national development themes can be gauged by means of both rough characterizations and more systematic content analysis. From the investigation of newspaper editorials in the three nations it is clear that Burma surpassed the other two countries in the level of its ideological exhortation; it also devoted nearly all of its content to building support for its national development objectives. Media materials produced in Malaysia, which also were either apolitical or sought to create a favorable image of the government, paid relatively less attention to affecting the ideology or actions of the populace. Thailand's content, divided between light commercial content (both private and officially produced) and more serious RTG output, had the least amount of exhortative/ideological content and the lowest proportional amount devoted to development themes. However, its volume of media output--and national development content--far surpassed that of the other two countries (in all areas except for newspapers, where it lagged behind Malaysia). Thailand also devoted more attention, particularly in the print media, to critical examination of major domestic issues.

An estimate of the degree to which elite or mass audiences are the primary focus of media activities can point up important distinctions in system priorities and performance. In the Burmese case, for example, it appeared that the GUB was concerned primarily with fashioning messages for elite audiences. This attitude was behind the sober, somewhat esoteric nature of much media content as well as the GUB's apparent disinterest in fostering wider (non-film) media participation. The media in Malaysia and Thailand were, by comparison, much more mass-oriented, though they showed some elitist tendencies in government output and in the taxes put on television receivers.

Exogenous content encompasses imported materials and messages transmitted by foreign radio and television transmitters. Burma kept exogenous materials down to minimum levels, though it could not curtail the amount of foreign radio broadcasting in Burmese. Malaysia on the other hand consumed a great deal, both because of high demand for such products and also because of political inhibitions on local production of print and film material. Thailand did not seriously restrict foreign content, but there was little demand for it except in the case of movies and television programs, and these were dubbed in the Thai idiom.

Restrictions on media hardware are highlighted by such indices as import quotas and duties, rationing, licensing, and the like. Burma imposed by far the strongest controls, though Malaysia had heavy radio and television license fees,

and Thailand put high import duties on these two items as well as on motion picture film.

Restrictions on domestic content include both formal procedures such as censorship and informal pressures and self-censorship. This factor could perhaps be estimated by a "media freedom index" of some kind. Media content in Burma was, by any measure, the most stringently restricted, while Malaysia and Thailand were controlled mainly through indirect methods. By mid-1970 Thailand's private media were reacting to these indirect controls by challenging the RTG either to make its proscriptions explicit or else permit greater self-expression.

An emphasis on print versus electronic media is another potentially useful measure of a nation's communications priorities. It is of interest to note that the GUB in 1970 exhibited very little interest in radio and television, while in Malaysia and Thailand these two media were the focal points of most government programming.

Commercialization can be used to denote the amount of official remuneration from media activities as well as the extent to which commercial opportunities motivate government information operations. Although the GUB and the GOM gained revenues from--and presumably accommodated somewhat to--the financial possibilities, respectively, of Burma's newspapers and motion picture imports and Malaysia's commercial radio and television, RTG elements placed particularly great emphasis on the profits to be gained from media operations.

Instead of focusing on twelve system variables such as those outlined above, it would of course be highly desirable to reduce the range of relevant factors to a number more suitable to the building of manageable typologies. Two or three variables would be an optimum level, though probably impractical. Taking integration and governmental intervention, for example, as the two critical system variables for such an ideal paradigm, Burma could perhaps have been described as multi-communal interventionist; Malaysia as multi-communal laissez-faire; and Thailand as homogeneous laissez-faire.[4] Though not inaccurate, this would have misrepresented the Burmese and Thai systems; an elite orientation and pervading ideology in the case of Burma and decentralization and commercialization in the case of Thailand appear to have been more meaningful factors than the two cited.

Whether the writer's twelve variables or some other set are deemed most pertinent for examining communications systems, some attempt at typology seems a necessary further step in the evolution of a useful theory on the role of mass communications in national development. The most appropriate level of analysis would seem to be one using, on the one hand, a data-oriented and pragmatic perspective rather than sweeping theoretical flights of fantasy and insight, and on the other

hand, a less myopic view than country-by-country or medium-by-medium analysis. My hope is that the country profiles presented here will contribute toward that end.

NOTES

1. This analysis, though still a valid interpretation of much radio and television content, was, in 1970, no longer so applicable to private Thai newspapers and periodicals, which appeared to have outgrown their prior dependence on rival bureaucratic factions.

2. The expressive character of Thai communications was noted by Siffin: "The volume of bureaucratic communications into the environment is substantial. It moves by radio, television, newspapers, and word of mouth. Much mass-media communications is horatory and of little potence as a basis for action in the environment.

3. Rustow noted that 71 percent of Burma's population spoke Burmese as its primary language, and 99 percent of all Burmese speakers were within Burma's territory. As for Thailand, 91 percent of the population spoke Thai/Lao, and 94 percent of Thai/Lao speakers lived in Thailand. He also commented that where two main groups have sharp religious as well as linguistic differences, as in Malaysia, "This clearly is the most explosive situation." (Rustow, in Fishman, et al., 1968, pp. 102-103, 104.)

4. Perhaps North Vietnam exemplifies a country that could be classified as homogeneous interventionist.

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BUILDING THE ASIAN COMMUNICATION NETWORK: TEACHING AND TRAINING

Y. V. Lakshmana Rao

The teaching of communication has come of age in Asia. The field is, therefore, at a stage where it is somewhat sure, somewhat confused, and somewhat questioning. It is mature enough to recognize that it has learned some things; it is mature enough to be aware of some of the facts of life; but it is also mature enough to think of its future life and how that life is to be patterned and structured to meet its own specific needs, ambitions, and goals.

I would liken the field of communication in Asia to a young woman who has come of age. She has become aware of her heroes, but she is not yet quite sure of what she is looking for in a future spouse. Her heroes at the present time are largely "alien," very much in the nature of pop stars or of character actors, of father images, and of intellectual giants. The future, however, does not allow for her to select a permanent bedmate from these categories. She is realistic enough to recognize this. Therefore, she has begun to search for "relevance."

FOREIGN HEROES

The "love-hate" relationship is a very real one, insofar as her heroes are concerned. When it comes to choosing her life mate, Asia faces bewilderment (or, as the King of Siam told Anna, "a puzzlement"). The choices and the expectations are virtually unlimited. What makes the choice particularly difficult is that her heroes are not of the soil; they are men who have worked in other cultures and in other climes, they speak a different language; they are of a different color and often of a different creed; their thinking and their approaches seem to be adventuresome, romantic and thought-provoking. But whether or not she can (and should) make a long-term commitment to any or all of them and yet try to keep both feet on familiar and comfortable native ground--this remains a moot question. The heroes, however "foreign," have provided Asia with food for thought and have made her grow; whether she could embrace them fully and yet maintain the respect and support of societies she has to live with is a question which she is now asking of herself. Hence the relevance of "relevance."

Communication teachers and trainers in Asia (the teacher-trainer distinction is essentially that between the academic and the operational) have learned most of what they know from scholars and literature emanating from outside of Asia. Individually the teachers are quite happy with the knowledge they have acquired and are quite confident of their ability to pass on that knowledge to their students. Trainers, meanwhile, also have imbibed deeply from the media stream flowing outside of Asia and thus, have modeled their own media on those existing elsewhere. In their training programs, therefore, their heroes too are somewhat "alien."

Collectively, however, the teachers and trainers find that there are flies in the ointment. Some mavericks have begun to question the applicability of "foreign" models and methods to conditions and needs obtaining in Asia and in other "developing" societies. The considerations are not exclusively economic; they are very largely social and cultural. When Asian teachers meet together, therefore, the question of relevance must inevitably crop up and the bandwagon is parked close by to be jumped upon. It has, unfortunately, become stylish to do just that, however sad this may seem when viewed from a distance--distance lends a detachment that is normally unavailable to anyone who is part of the crowd and who is involved enough to sense its psychological and material needs. It may be as unrealistic to criticize the behavior of a collective group without having been part of it as it is to accept unquestioningly the idiosyncracies of a group of which one is part.

AN INEVITABLE STAGE?

The teaching and training of mass communication in Asia has depended heavily on the ideas and the experiences of what might loosely be referred to as "the West." This continues to be so for reasons which are not obscure; they are essentially the same as those for other disciplines and for other fields. Even in matters that are more directly applicable to Asian conditions and to Asian behavior, much of the research done and the images projected have been largely initiated and/or supported either by non-Asians or by those whose thinking and behavior have been influenced by non-Asian factors. But the degree to which such dependence and such reliance are ineffective, or unrealistic, or irrelevant has to be measured far more closely and objectively than seems to have been done hitherto. It may be that Western influence is a stage through which most Asian societies must pass. In this case, the danger is that in any move--collectively and regional--to throw out the bathwater, the baby also may be tossed out.

Recently, during the course of a series of seminars and conferences[1] in which Asian mass communication teachers and trainers met to discuss questions relating to their programs and plans, I had the nagging feeling that most of the participants did not quite know what course they should (and could) follow. The problem, it seemed, was not really one of "either-or" but rather one of "how much much of what under what conditions"--the contextual variables that Daniel Lerner

stresses. The psychology behind the general tone of the discussions, especially that of the younger participants, was easily understandable, but could their older colleagues bring about a more balanced view? Unfortunately, this was not possible because the contributions to research made by the latter were minimal. Whatever contributions existed were either historical in nature or dealt with just one older medium--the press. Moreover, that research dealt with a press of an essentially bygone era--a press whose preoccupation had been political independence from the colonial yoke.

The concerns of the younger generation were more heavily concentrated on economic, social, and cultural development. The entire concept of communication had widened and at the same time had intensified. "Communication" had taken over from "journalism." Meanwhile, technological and intellectual evolution had given the serious student of communication a scope and a challenge that were unimaginable even a decade ago! International intercourse and the information explosion had exposed the student to new ideas, tools, and skills; he had suddenly become aware of their potential but he was still unsure of their application. How best to cope with the knowledge and to pass it on meaningfully to another generation that could apply it successfully in a fast-changing society? Such questions suddenly became relevant.

URGENT QUESTIONS

These questions also took on a meaning and an urgency that the younger generation felt far more confident to ask. But individually, within the contextual structures and systems in which they found themselves, they could not easily find the answers. More often than not, they could not even ask the questions for fear of being misunderstood by their seniors. Power, conceived as the ability to bring about change, was not in their hands. Hence their need for rabid affirmation of independence and their "rebellion" when the opportunity for collective vocalization arose (what Gabriel Almond has called "interest-articulation" and "interest-aggregation" in the development process).

Such a close relationship between the political evolution of a society and the professional evolution within a discipline or a field such as mass communication is certainly not unique to Asia. Nor is it an unhealthy sign. Quite the contrary. The revolution of rising expectations (and of frustrations) has become a cliché of development discussions, but this does not detract from its essential truth. In the teaching and training of mass communication in Asia many strong needs have been felt. Not least of these is the urgency of taking steps to satisfy the material and intellectual needs of those people involved in these activities. The demands are neither unrealistic nor outside of the scope and capabilities of Asian administrators and of Asian society--nor of the teachers and trainers themselves. The demands are simple: provision of textbooks and other kinds of reading material; measures to standardize curricula; programs to upgrade teaching and training standards; opportunities for carrying out empirical research; exchanges of staff between institutions to bring about regional cross-fertilization;

solid avenues for accreditation of institutions and of programs; the creation of information centers and documentation units; the development of systematic channels for publication; and the provision of short-term refresher courses for teachers and trainers.

LEGITIMATE GOAL

The question of "relevance" triggers a vague feeling that Asians must lift themselves up by their own bootstraps. A perfectly legitimate and, in fact, laudable goal. However, sometimes "relevance" spills over into areas of doubtful significance. For example, one sometimes hears a potential scholar talking about the irrelevance of "Western models" and the need to develop Asian models. Any unquestioning acquiescence to such a statement in the charged atmosphere of a regional conference of Asian teachers and trainers seems fraught with danger. It has to be recognized that there are certain universal principles or models. While there is a need for using these models with care, the wholesale condemnation of theories, or principles, or models without a careful analysis and testing reflects a political attitude and does not bespeak the professional honesty and modesty required of a true scholar.

It seems necessary to point out to Asian teachers and trainers that such a chauvinistic approach to communication research and communication practice may, in fact, slow progress in a field of vital concern to their own societies. This is particularly important when viewed against the tremendous progress that has already been made in this field in Asia, as compared to many other developed or developing regions of the world.

Much of what has been done--and it is a considerable amount--has been the result, directly and indirectly, of what has been learned from contributions made outside of the context of Asia. Both teachers and researchers have been influenced by ideas and thoughts that have been developed abroad. The reasons for this are mainly historical; because they are based on the opportunities that non-Asian scholars have had, especially in the social sciences and even more especially in the field of communication. However, Asia has not always lagged behind nor would it be correct to say that it lags behind now. Asian scholars, with their innate ability to think and to verbalize, to describe and to analyze, have been able to make significant contributions to the literature of the social sciences and the humanities. Particularly in the field of communication, they have been able to identify certain social and psychological variables that are not necessarily exclusive to their own societies. Their contributions have been acknowledged and have affected the theoretical and methodological directions of the study of communication processes outside of Asia. Therefore, there does not seem to be any need to feel inadequate.

The tragedy seems to be that, although convinced of the usefulness and even of the applicability of so-called Western models of communication to the Asian scene and although teaching these models in classrooms and using them

in research, the Asian scholar seems forced to virtually reject them in public utterances. Such an ambivalent attitude and ambiguous posture is, to say the least, an extremely uncomfortable emotional and professional state to be in. It seems important that the scholar, for his own good and for the good of communication development (DEVCOM), take a hard and close look at himself, at his colleagues, and at their works. He must feel proud that in specific kinds of studies he has brought to the field his own experience and knowledge, and that he has honed the tools of inquiry, especially where they have to be used within a given socio-cultural developmental context. Such pride will tend to enlarge the perspective that is necessary if scholarship is to be pursued for professional and societal betterment and is not to be contaminated by narrowly political, or even worse, personal motives. This does not seem to be a trait that is in any way unique to Asia or to Asians--but that is merely a consolation and offers no solutions.

When the Asian teacher is able to achieve a frame of mind in which he is confident, proud, and curious, his potential to develop the study of communication will truly be boundless. Such persons exist. The point is only that in a collective exercise, these people should speak up. In most gatherings, however, it is the non-contributor who speaks most stridently. This is unfortunate.

It is not suggested that no justifiable reasons exist for some of the chauvinistic feelings expressed. For example, it is true that most of the textbooks and other reading material available today for classroom teaching are written by non-Asian scholars and deal with Asian situations from an alien point of view. In a field like communication, where social and cultural factors play such an important role, it is but reasonable to expect that the teaching must be based in the indigenous context. The question that inevitably occurs concerns the responsibility of the teacher to adapt all relevant theory to his own context and to draw examples from it. It seems also justifiable to ask the teachers to make the effort to "translate" (when necessary) and to write the texts that are relevant to the conditions obtaining in their own societies. Asian teachers would be well-advised to make that effort themselves and not to rely on others to do it for them. It seems unwarranted to blame others for writing on mass communication from their own experience and perspective without making a parallel effort themselves.

STANDARDIZED CURRICULUM

On the question of curriculum development, too, the same argument must hold. If certain subjects such as "communication and development" or the "use of traditional media" seem more relevant, by all means let us develop courses in these subjects. No one else is going to be able to do it <u>for</u> us. Can Asian teachers agree upon a standardized curriculum? Should, in fact, a standardized curriculum necessarily be evolved? For, as all the papers in this book demonstrate, Asia is not homogeneous. All that one can aim at is a minimum basic curriculum with provision for additional specialties to be added when and where needed.

AVENUES FOR ACCREDITATION

Any attempt to build mechanisms for accreditation also calls for an agreement among Asians. Here too, models existing elsewhere can most certainly be studied and analyzed, but modifications will be necessary based on the existing administrative and other structures within teaching institutions and within national educational bodies. Perhaps Asia is not yet ready for any regional agreement in this regard, but national efforts can certainly be made, and they should be made before Asian communication teachers lose all control in the face of the trend toward proliferation of programs, of departments and faculties. However cruel or crude such a suggestion may seem, many countries would do well to consider a moratorium on the introduction of new courses and new programs. We suggest this because, although the need for communication graduates is expanding and the demand for communication courses is heavy, if the present proliferation goes unchecked, quality, which is already inadequate, will suffer even more. If this expansion continues, communication teachers will have themselves to blame for the continued lack of recognition of the field by prospective employers, either in the private sector or the public.

REFRESHER COURSES

On the other hand, what seems most essential in Asia is the development of opportunities for those who have been teaching for some years to attend refresher courses tailored for them. For regional purposes, they might well be sent out of their own countries (not necessarily outside of Asia) for higher degrees and for advanced long-term study. One of the major problems is that the potential for the upgrading of teachers and trainers is limited. A situation has developed where, in a manner of speaking, the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. Those in senior teaching positions (based on length of service) are those less well-qualified and therefore "poor." Those who have had the opportunities to obtain well-recognized advanced degrees (usually the younger people) and to have done some useful research are better able to command the respect of scholars both in Asia and abroad and therefore are also able to find research support. They are the "rich."

The situation is paradoxical. Inevitably this leads to a clash within institutions where the senior has the power to withhold support while being unable to direct the research himself. This leaves the junior frustrated and therefore forced, if possible, to migrate. Under such conditions progress is retarded. The poor become envious of the rich; the rich are either too proud or too intolerant to share prerogatives with less privileged colleagues. The entrenched elder defends himself by using his only resource--power. This dubious instrument of scholarship is used to prevent any further development, not only of his junior colleague but of himself. Thus, the need is urgent for the introduction of tailored refresher courses for those dedicated teachers who are building the institutions that are now the bases for regional communication teaching and that must be the vanguard of any fresh impetus to teaching and to research in the

field. Such training is necessary to narrow the gap between the old and the new, between the poor and the rich. Otherwise, the respect that is owed by each to the other will not develop and the effective growth of DEVCOM in the region will suffer for the absence of healthy cooperation. The fresh young scholars must be met half-way by the elders who must use their experience and "wisdom" to achieve balanced growth (dynamic equilibrium).

The essential question, therefore, is not whether communication as a subject of study was begun here or there; it is not a question of who can do it better and faster. The subject is universal in its problems and its solutions, in its applications for good or for ill, and in the techniques that it has been able to develop in this culture or that. Communication teachers, young or old, modern or traditional, will have to approach the subject in the context of their own society's needs and priorities. There is scope--and a great deal of scope --for the indigenous and the imported. Perhaps this not-so-mythical young lady who has now come of age will do well to practice polyandry.

NOTE

[1]Seminars and conferences organized by the Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC):

"Communication Teaching and Training"--a seminar organized by AMIC in cooperation with the Department of Mass Communication, University of Indonesia. Den Pasar, May 1-6, 1972.

"Communication Teaching and Training"--a seminar organized by AMIC in cooperation with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Kuala Lumpur, May 29-June 1, 1972.

"Communication Teaching and Training"--a seminar organized by AMIC in cooperation with the Faculty of Humanities, University of Sri Lanka. Colombo, October 12-17, 1972.

"Regional Conference on Communication Teaching and Training." Organized by AMIC in cooperation with the Graduate School of Mass Communication, Seoul National University, Seoul, Korea. November 27-December 1, 1972.

NATIONAL PLANNING AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC CONTEXT

John A. Spence

INTRODUCTION

Two vital areas facing governments and organizations are national planning and telecommunications. When the interaction of the two is also considered, we have a subject of enormous possibilities for all countries, and of particular significance for this vast and important Pacific region.

In approaching this subject I have attempted to avoid heavy technical emphasis. I do not propose to give an in-depth review of the current telecommunications position in the various countries and what that suggests for the future. Nor will I attempt to describe Australia's policy.

What I felt I should endeavor to provide, however, is a viewpoint on the international scene, particularly in the Pacific and Southeast Asian areas, a viewpoint focused on national and international policies and planning approaches --particularly in regard to telecommunications.

OBJECTIVES AND PRIORITIES

With the aid of modern technology you can have almost anything you want if you are prepared to pay for it. With the possible current exception of the Middle East oil producers, virtually nobody is in this happy position. This inevitably means that we are forced back to establishing priorities to meet objectives and rejecting those proposals which are felt to be less essential.

In the case of national planning this has probably never been more important or complex. In Australia and elsewhere there has been a substantial shift towards meeting social objectives, with increased efforts going into areas like education, health services, and similar developments. At the same time it is becoming increasingly difficult to cope with the effects of inflation and international problems which are raising prices at an accelerating rate.

In this environment of complex change and national planning, telecommunications planners need to consider objectives and priorities very closely and to present their case carefully. Telecommunications has a number of things going

for it. But it is becoming more complex to understand and to take fullest advantage of the latest developments. So there has to be a well-organized and, I suggest, systems-oriented approach to national planning and telecommunications and their interrelationships.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

It is now recognized that successful development planning comprises economic development, social change, and institution building. The five year and other plans of countries and regions must now take each of these into account rather than focus solely on production and investment plans to lift the economy over a period of time.

It may be felt that telecommunications will help in all of these areas and therefore it ought to be a high priority item. Nevertheless, it does pay to look to see what has been the experience with telecommunications development in the past.

Recently an interesting analysis noted that as a country develops and its activities become more complex its need for telecommunications increases. This is necessary to plan and organize the movement of goods and peoples. It becomes necessary for education and for coping with other social requirements like medical planning. Most important, it becomes necessary for cultural exchange as the economic strength of the region grows and more attention can be focused on these issues.

Not surprisingly, it has been noted that as a country develops in its complexity and its extent of industrial activity so too does its demand for telecommunications grow. In the ten years to May 1974 the countries which had had the highest rate of growth in telecommunications were, in order, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Greece, Israel, and Japan. They were also the ones which were industrializing at a very rapid rate.

Telecommunications is, of course, used in two different ways. In one-way transmission it is used for sending information to audiences by way of radio and television. Its two-way transmission permits the interchange of ideas between people by means of telephone, telegram, telex, or data terminals for such information exchange. One estimate of the investment in these two different sectors was that respectively they counted for 20 percent and 80 percent of the total investment by the government sector.

One of the major problems with telecommunications is that it is a capital-intensive industry capable of posing a substantial financial problem at the national level. The investment requirements are large and can be hard to meet internally,

particularly when overall national priorities are considered. However, experience has shown that in the long run telecommunications can pay for itself. Therefore, there is a need to find a way of overcoming the short-term cash flow problem through investment funded by major lending institutions such as the World Bank.

Naturally the priorities attached to this are going to vary from region to region. General experience however is that telecommunications is first used to provide for commercial, industrial, safety, and similar requirements and secondly, after the essential production phase is achieved, for social use and for private use by individuals.

You may feel this is putting too heavy an emphasis on the economic factors and too little on the social factors, that is, down-playing the importance of the educational or cultural exchange roles. This has been the practical reality of developing countries, and you would need a clear view of a government's area of emphasis before you could reasonably expect a major shift away from this sequence.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS PLANNING: SYSTEMATIC AND INTEGRATED

People are capable of being influenced, of course. As testimony to this we currently live in a world besieged by media announcements and general presentations arguing for the adoption of this and that--including telecommunications and its related hardware and software. However, this barrage does not help the decision-maker. Rather, what he needs is some clear evaluation of the merits and demerits of what is proposed and an evaluation of how this sits in relation to the other priorities he must understand and rank.

It is true that in certain circumstances a nation can take a strong line like "we will put a man on the moon" or, in a more closely related context, "we will get into satellite technology." These objectives were, of course, announced and achieved by the United States. But few of us can set such expensive items so high on our priority list. Instead what is needed is a clear and objective evaluation of what telecommunications is about and what it should be doing.

In this context it is sobering to note the words of R. E. Butler, Deputy Secretary-General of the International Telecommunications Union. In his keynote paper to the Second International Conference on Computer Communication in 1974 Butler commented:

> No country has yet fully developed communication policies and plans to deal in an integrated manner with traditional and new telecommunications services.

He went on to say that some countries are looking in this direction. But essentially I believe his statement is correct. As yet we have not developed policies and plans to deal with this situation; even less have we an approach to plan our telecommunications in such a way that it will assist and complement the national planning of our various regions.

This is not really a very surprising position. In this time of rapidly changing technology it is only reasonable that we should take time to determine which policies should be adopted. However, I think this brings us up against a point that we must recognize--that the versatility and wonder of today's technology are not sufficient in themselves to justify a high priority for telecommunications in any nation's plans. What is needed is a well-reasoned case stating how telecommunications can assist directly in the economic, social, and institutional change that is felt to be appropriate.

We have to distinguish between what is interesting and feasible on the one hand, and what is needed and economically practical on the other.

In this context we need to put our ideas forward in an organized and considered fashion.

A CRITICAL INGREDIENT IN NATIONAL PLANNING

In considering the Pacific region it could well be that what should be represented is an integrated plan, including international links of a trade, cultural, and social nature--one potentially aided by telecommunications.

In such an arrangement there is the possibility of redundancy and hence, the scope for a rationalized approach that would benefit everyone. This is very analogous to the situation which led to a major study in Southeast Asia of the transport needs of that area. Seven countries joined together in what became the Southeast Asian Regional Transport Survey. Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, South Vietnam, and the Philippines saw that their integrated transport needs might best be considered as a whole rather than for each nation to do its own planning independently. They recognized the possibility of redundant installations if nations approached things without regard to what their neighbors might be doing or planning, that the whole logistics requirements of the area justified consideration on a regional basis rather than just in a national context.

As I understand it, the same situation could well be true in Pacific telecommunications, at least in relation to overall national plans. It has already been observed that sound data links between countries might enable one group or region to reduce its involvement in terms of investment in library facilities or special research centers. In other words, there might be the possibility of a cooperative association enabling ideas, information, and questions to be handled quickly and effectively by telecommunication links to other countries in the group.

I want to describe what could be a systematic approach to satisfying the telecommunications and national needs in the Pacific area. This could be treated on a nation-by-nation basis. But it would also lend itself to being considered as a Pacific regional approach which could bind the countries more closely, as a more effective telecommunications network, and overall, as an improved investment program for all.

A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO THE PLANNING TASK

It is useful to consider some of the diverse factors which would need to be taken into account in relation to telecommunications and national planning. I would like to suggest that these factors can be considered as a series of steps as follows:

1. Assess the needs and plans of the region concerned.

2. Evaluate the capability of current and imminent telecommunications equipment and technology to handle various levels of traffic.

3. Anticipate future developments of an economic, social, political and technological nature.

4. Review the scope for financing and for satisfying other resource-short needs.

5. Develop an integrated approach to optimize the phased development of telecommunications facilities for the region.

Let us examine these and consider some practical examples of what is being done in certain parts of the region to complete these tasks.

ASSIST THE REGION'S NEEDS

In a brief publication entitled An Introduction to 'Telecom 2000' put out by the Australian Post Office there is a very telling phrase which appears under the heading of "Planning for Total Communications."

> There is a clear necessity for the planners of a national information system to determine the real needs of users, not as an afterthought but as an integral part of planning and building the system.

The same article notes:

> The essential fabric of the planning process is technical. Appreciation of technological potential and limitations, ability to configure future networks and to assess the practicability of conversion from existing networks, as well as the capacity to elaborate policies, standards and guidelines for the implementation of objectives are all integral to every phase of the operation.
>
> This technical process must nevertheless be significantly eliminated by wider social, economic and political prospectives.
>
> The needs of individuals and communities and common interest groups must be balanced in any plan that purports to serve the common good.

In other words, what is needed is to find what is being done and is sought to be done by the business, government, and private communities within which we operate. Currently in Australia this is being anticipated by a major study which the Post Office is planning to launch which will examine future markets and environments.

In this study we have outlined an approach to find out what is happening in communications and what is likely to happen in the future.

We plan to study the behavior underlying the use of telecommunications and to see how this is likely to be affected with changes in time, cost, and ease of equipment usage. This will be a national study of the effect of communication on isolated communities, changes in social and political infrastructure, and the increasing emphasis on national and international communications. It will inevitably have to take into account the developments up until the present time and the experience in other areas. For this reason we will be drawing heavily on experience in Europe and elsewhere in our approach to this critical evaluation.

In addition in Australia, there is currently a great deal of attention being directed at the handling of technical information. A special committee was set up to evaluate Australia's needs in this area. The findings of the committee were extensive but can be summarized by saying that they recognized that Australia must be served by a wider policy on information. Specifically, some of their key recommendations were:

> That the Australian Government establish a national scientific and technological and information Authority.
>
> That some of the functions of this Authority be:
>
> > to advise on the development of national scientific and technological information policy

to promote the orderly development of scientific and technological library and information services in Australia

to foster the coordination and extension of scientific and technological library and information services on a national scale through the various Commonwealth, State and private organizations and to provide these organizations with supplementary finances necessary for this purpose

to act as the Australian focus for international cooperation in matters concerned with the transfer, storage and examination of scientific and technological information

to establish such additional services, including computer base information services, translation services and a central documents collection, as may best be provided by a national center

to undertake and support research into library and information services

to promote education in the use of scientific and technological library and information services

to consult other authorities with a view to facilitating inter-disciplinary access to information across the whole range of knowledge

That the Authority should have a full-time Chairman and should include providers and users of information such as representatives of the National Library, C.S.I.R.O., State Libraries, University Libraries, Industry and other users and persons who, by their knowledge and experience, could advance the work of the Authority.

That provision be made for the Commonwealth expenditure of 3.5 million dollars over the first three years.

That, in view of the pressing urgency which the Committee as a result of its investigations has found to exist, immediate steps be taken to bring the Authority into existence.

That the Australian Government adopt a national information policy to recognize the importance of effective information services and to encourage the development of a national scientific technological information system.

Similar analyses have gone on in other areas of information handling and there currently is great awareness in Australia of the size and implications of a national data system.

EVALUATE CURRENT AND LIKELY EQUIPMENT/ TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENTS

In developing any plan it is obviously of great importance to consider the existing equipment and expectations for imminent installation, together with any relevant technology likely to be of importance.

You will know your current plans. So I will limit myself to the "technology" area and in this context I would like to refer to two important developments that I think will come increasingly into practical consideration. These are satellites and mini-computers.

The practical opportunities for using satellite communications regionally and globally are now firmly established. Here in the Pacific region we have an important and unique example of satellite communications on an effective co-operative basis through the PEACESAT system. On the global scene there is an effective and profitably based organization in INTELSAT which has provided satellite communications between nations around the world and which is continuing to grow successfully. In addition, there are numerous domestic facilities either operating or planned.

In the case of INTELSAT we are currently working with that organization to determine its structure and method of operation for the future as part of an internal study which has been called for by the Board of Governors. This is an important part of their plan to establish a basis of working which will ensure the sound future operation of INTELSAT's many activities. INTELSAT has grown substantially from its early days when only some fourteen nations were interested and finally around fifty signed the interim agreements. Membership has grown to 89 countries, and a number of other nations for instance, the Soviet Union, are showing increasing interest in participating. It has been a successful and a profitable means of providing important international communications between centers--primarily for telephone and television communications between nations. More recently it has been seen to offer scope for a secure domestic program for certain countries (where their own individual satellites might tend to be more vulnerable). Perhaps in time the power and potential of the INTELSAT system could also contribute towards meeting the needs of the Pacific.

In terms of the domestic areas there has now been some success in several countries. But of particular interest has been the recent recognition by Indonesia that its thousands of islands might be more readily interlinked through its own domestic satellite system.

In Australia too there is considerable interest in this development. Although desert rather than water separates our population, many outposts are just as remote as distant islands. Transport is every bit as difficult and can be exceedingly expensive. Furthermore, the cost of providing cables and other facilities over such distances and for such small communities represents an impractical load for the future, and one which may be more appropriately

handled with satellites. Current thinking is that there will be a satellite program developed sometime in the 1980's.

With relation fo the mini-computer it was pointed out in the ICCC 74 series that there is an increasing closeness developing between telecommunications planning and the capabilities of computers. With the recent important moves towards more compact and cost-efficient computers or mini-computers the handling of decentralized information and communication needs is being changed drastically. It is being found that the appropriate selection of computer and related hardware and software cannot only increase our capabilities within any financial limitations, but also can change the shape and nature of the networks and associated technologies that we are proposing to use.

ANTICIPATE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

From people like Drucker, Juran, and Toffler we have learned that we are in a world of change, discontinuity, and shock. I think we now agree that this is the case and that anything we do must fit within this environment. How then are we to cope with the task of planning for telecommunications investment policies which can have far reaching implications and perhaps be changed very little after important decisions are made?

To meet this problem of uncertainty there is a growing need for scientific and systematic evaluation of the various environments within which we must operate. This position has been recognized in Australia by the Post Office which has proposed a major evaluation of the environments likely to face the postal and telecommunications activities in the future. This will take the form of a study of the economic, social, political, and technological environments which will examine these over the next ten years as a minimum, and desirably, over the next thirty years, to study the implications of what could be ahead.

In our approach to this study we have advanced a means of evaluating future scenarios which are likely to be encountered by society, both nationally and internationally over a range of time horizons. It is recognized that the political horizon is often a very short one. Nevertheless, the realities of planning are that one must look ahead these sorts of distances--this will be achieved in the study through the integrated use of discussions, scientific analysis, international investigation, and policy modeling.

Again, it would appear that this approach is of direct relevance in the Asia/Pacific area. While there will be differences between the nature and rate of changes between the countries there will almost certainly be significant areas of common ability. And the methodology which is used to approach this form of analysis could be adapted to the Pacific region.

REVIEW THE SCOPE FOR FINANCE

One of the major problems with telecommunications is its considerable

demand for capital. Developing regions can seldom easily support this themselves and as a result there has been some move on the part of various lending institutions to make funds available (telecommunications having proven itself to be a sound investment).

No doubt a number of countries in the Asia/Pacific region have explored the possibilities with organizations such as the World Bank. Certainly this has been the case in Papua New Guinea where the World Bank made a loan to the government for the expenditure on telecommunications facilities and equipment and where, as a condition of this investment we have been concerned with setting up a procedure to closely monitor performance in relation to this investment. We have exactly the same situation operating in Zambia where again we are helping the government with the installation of a control system. So it would appear that sizeable sums can be borrowed to assist with this growth activity as long as the planning is sound and the control procedures are effective.

DEVELOP AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO OPTIMIZE DEVELOPMENTS

Finally in this systems process it will be noted that the development of a telecommunications system represents a special form of facilities planning--with the objective being to find the best way of supplementing or modifying existing equipment so as to achieve a sound economic/technical result.

We have found from a number of projects that this lends itself to decision modeling. Using computerized approaches and mathematical programming techniques it is possible to describe the various cable, radio, and satellite alternatives for handling traffic, together with their costs and operating requirements. Alternative timings for the introduction, extension, or phasing out of these various modes of communication can then be readily explored. In this way it is possible to find the sequence which will best satisfy all traffic objectives and operating constraints, while at the same time, satisfying some decision criterion such as maximizing profit or minimizing cost. This is an enormously powerful means of evaluating the wide range of alternative strategies in this very complex decision situation. And it is particularly worth noting that this usually enables the decision-maker to find a better course of action for his region than he expected.

SPECIAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR TELECOMMUNICATIONS

In considering this approach I would finally like to note that there are some special benefits that can flow from use of telecommunications. One of these was referred to in the ICCC 74 conference where reference was made to Engelbart's approach on human augmentation systems. It has been found that decisions can be made more effectively if delays in information access are reduced. This avoids the loss of momentum when one is waiting for answers--and it has been seen that interactive terminals and the possibility of immediate human reaction can increase the "efficiency" of decisions.

One very good example of how this can be achieved is, of course, a system like PEACESAT. Through satellites and terminals one could have cultural and data exchanges which would not otherwise be practicable. I understand PEACESAT already has examples of how results like this have been obtained.

National planning should take account of the benefits of such augmentation through telecommunications.

The second area is related to increasing the decision effectiveness of people. I suggest that the combination of telecommunications and centralized computer facilities could enable relatively untrained people to make decisions in complex situations.

Computers can be programmed to deal with such decision areas as inventory, forecasting, financial accounting and analysis, and manpower selection. If a semi-skilled person can be trained to feed in certain basic information he can gain prompt answers and instructions expressed in easily understood terms--with the aid of the telecommunications link to and from the computer.

This approach could provide a substantial breakthrough in speeding the development of regions with shortages of skilled people. It could provide leverage for the semi-skilled person in terms of increasing his or her ability to handle complex decisions. It could also permit the focusing of scarce educational resources on those specialist activities which do not lend themselves to this computer approach (as well as, of course, on the training of next generations).

This is a concept which has as yet not become fully operational, although in a sense some progress towards this has been made in some of our transport work in Papua New Guinea. If soundly approached, it could represent a great potential for the Pacific region. But it will only be possible through a telecommunications system involving computers.

CONCLUSION

There are clearly major advances in national planning to be made with the aid of telecommunications. This is already widely recognized. But in today's fast-changing and resource-short world there are some problems facing the planner and policy maker.

I have touched on a range of issues which affect decisions in this field and I have emphasized an approach to achieve successful and integrated development. But perhaps the most important point is that telecommunications could provide the means of dramatically accelerated benefits in Asia and the Pacific if we can just learn how best to direct our thinking.

ECONOMICS OF COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY*

Donald McL. Lamberton

As befits an influence as pervasive as communication, this topic can be treated in diverse ways that reflect different interests. For example, Bhattacharyya (1974, pp. 1-10) developed a time series model for forecasting the demand for telephones in Australia. The model is intended for short-term forecasting of total demands and would help the managerial planning by the national telecommunications authority. Neufeld et al. (1974) focused attention on the problems of integrating satellite and terrestrial systems to meet forecast traffic requirements. Quite properly, these authors have chosen to treat a well-defined problem. Nevertheless, those well-defined problems can be expanded easily. What of the relative growth rates of business and residential demand for telephones? Might the future prospect of telecommunications include a modification of the functions of cities with the resultant relocation of homes and places of work? What expectations of future technologies should be incorporated into plans for integrated systems?

For my part, I feel I am still grappling with an alien technology and am continually impressed by its rapidity of change. I sense that it is not enough to ask that someone else specify the input-output relationship so that I, as economist, can begin to perform my traditional task. Communication systems process information and are themselves the result of using a particular kind of information that we label communication technology. Are the economist's production models--derived from long experience of agriculture and manufacturing--applicable to the information processes?

The development of my interest stems not so much from a change of occupation twenty-two years ago from journalist to academic economist, but rather from a continuing attempt to understand, first, the role of profit (Lamberton, 1965; Lamberton, in Carter and Ford, 1972) and later the process of decision-making. After examining this process in scientific and technological developments (Lamberton, 1970), I attempted to shape a more general framework of analysis that I began to refer to as the "economics of information" (Lamberton, 1971). This was then broadened to take in wider social science implications (Lamberton, 1974; Lamberton, 1975). From that point I have become involved in a series of empirical studies relating to telecommunications, the impact of informational technologies in education, library systems, industrial policy, and science policy. While I must

*A revised version of a paper presented at a combined seminar of the East-West Communication Institute and the Technology and Development Institute, 7 May 1975.

admit that my interest is not specifically in development studies, my teaching and research comes under the umbrella term, "industrial economics," which I interpret as the microeconomics of development in a general rather than in an LDC sense.

I wish to draw your attention to the development of an economics of information and provide an introduction to its literature. The centers of specialization are few --Harvard, UCLA, Stanford, Chicago, and, I venture to add, University of Queensland. There are many ways of pointing up the need for an economics of information. For example, Samuelson noted that the competitive model fails the pragmatic predictive test in that the prediction "advertising cost equals zero" is falsified (Samuelson, in Kuenne, 1967, p. 108). In like fashion--even with an element of overlap in that advertising conveys some information--we might note that the prediction "zero information cost" is falsified in a world where as much as one quarter of gross rational product is accounted for by knowledge production and distribution (Machlup, 1962). Alternatively, we might link information with disequilibrium or irreversibility. By so doing we would capture much of the troubled territory and the dissatisfaction among economists that appear to be bound up with the essentially static, non-historical features of contemporary economics. I shall not develop the methodological weaknesses further. I am implying that economics will need further modification if it is to get much beyond well-defined problems to tell us anything significant about the economics of communication technology, or more generally, about the role of communications in economic and social development.

Following in the tradition of modern economics we might take evasive action; we might resort to the assumption of perfect knowledge or the even weaker assumptions of rich and sure information or adequate information. Admittedly these are ways of incorporating expectations into our analysis but they fail to meet the facts that expectations are based on information; that information is costly; and that the information process works rather imperfectly in two respects--first, access to information differs greatly between individuals and nations. Resort to the perfect knowledge assumption solves the problem only because there would be no information sector of the economy and presumably no need for communication technology. It solves the problem only if our sense of realism does not lead us to rebel when we are confronted with real systems in which a large share of resources are devoted to the very activities that by implication do not exist.

This line of thought leads us into fascinating territory. Do we think of the economy in terms of "real" processes like capital formation, production, and consumption? Does the economy function in terms of the ideas of the people living or working within it? By exploring that territory we would reach many of the issues that stem from the events that are creating an economics of information. I should like to distinguish two kinds of these events: first, those creating an economics of information; and, secondly, those creating the need for an economics of information.

Economics in an information society must be the economics of information. In the Penguin readings I made a first effort to depict the scope of such an economics

(Lamberton, 1971). It was obviously too narrow: the treatment of technological change was curtailed,[1] and the coverage was not extended to those subjects conventionally included in macroeconomics. This second limitation now seems to me to have been most unfortunate because an approach to economics that focuses on information processes holds great promise for bridging the gap between macroeconomics and microeconomics.

Development of the economics of information goes on apace. At the eighty-eighth annual conference of the American Economic Association, two full sessions were devoted to this subject.

"INFORMATION AND MARKET STRUCTURE"
(Joint Session with the Econometric Society)

Chairperson: Vernon L. Smith, University of Arizona
Papers:
Steven Salop, Federal Reserve Board
"Information and Industrial Organization"

Joseph E. Stiglitz, Stanford University
"Information and Capital Market: A Survey"

John Riley, University of California, Los Angeles
"Information, Screening and Human Capital"

Discussants: Paul Cootner, Stanford University; Elizabeth E. Bailey, Bell Laboratories and New York University; and Dale Mortensen, Northwestern University

"ECONOMICS OF INFORMATION AND INNOVATION"

Chairperson: Joel Goldhar, National Science Foundation
Papers:
William Baumol, Princeton University and New York University
"Public Good Attributes of Information and Its Optional Pricing"

Fritz Machlup, New York University
"The Economic Strangulation of the Science Information Enterprise"

Edwin Mansfield, University of Pennsylvania
"Returns from New Industrial Technology"

Discussants: Sanford Berg, University of Florida; Nestor Terleckyj, National Planning Association; Robert Willig, Bell Telephone Laboratories

Other sessions overlapped. For example, sessions were devoted to:

"Uncertainty and Incomplete Markets," "Expectations and Aggregate Dynamics," "Allocational Efficiency of Security Markets under Uncertainty," "Experimental Economics," and "New Developments in Theory of Monopolistic Competition."

The September 1975 issue of the American Economic Review announced the eighty-eighth conference program and also gave notice that The City College of New York would sponsor, in May 1976, a conference on "The Economics of Information." In March 1974 the Swedish Journal of Economics devoted an entire issue to the economics of information. In the spring of 1975, The Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science published a "Symposium on the Economics of Internal Organization," which included papers by Kenneth J. Arrow and other distinguished scholars.

The relationship between internal organization and information and communication might need some elaboration. Some time ago, when I grappled with the theory of profit, I found myself bracketing "information and organization" together so frequently that I wished for one word to do the task of both (Lamberton, 1965). What I did not then appreciate is the extent to which organizations can usefully be treated as information systems.

The blending of economics and other social sciences is apparent in the work of Harvard's Program on Information Technologies and Public Policy (Harvard University, Annual Report, 1974-1975). This program has now gathered estimates from the United States government, trade associations, and other sources for the gross revenues of the information industries. These are quoted in Table 1.

This painstaking statistical inquiry has been supplemented by Faculty Seminars, which have interacted in important ways with transnational seminars held in cooperation with the Harvard Center for International Affairs.

Among the important topics dealt with in these continuing seminars are: cybernetic decision theory; data processing; the computer/communications border; the EDP industry; computer networking; the "privacy" issue; computer communication architecture and performance traits; telecommunications organization, international trade, and the developing countries; the ITU; science and telecom policy; multinational corporations; free flow; and a range of economic, legal, and policy issues arising from current international communication processes.

The Office of Science Information Service (OSIS) of the United States National Science Foundation (NSF) has recognized the economics of information transfer as a significant new topic within information science (Burchinal, 1975, pp. 7, 36). The objective is to promote improvements in scientific communication and technology transfer through economic concepts and data. Priority areas of research include: studies of the supply/demand services; analyses of the markets of such services; and, as data accumulates, the development of simulation models. The initial projects included: (1) an investigation of STI indicators; (2) an expanded coverage of STI in updating Machlup's classic The Production and Distribution of

Knowledge; (3) research on the scale economies and public good characteristics of STI; (4) the inclusion by the United States Census Bureau of a question about STI expenditures on the national Survey of Industrial Research and Development; and (5) an analysis of the economic aspects of interactions between publishers and libraries. It must be added that OSIS is stressing that this kind of research must be supplemented by an effort to build a theory of information transfer.

Much additional research could be cited, especially for the United States. A good deal of this is linked with the work of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS). In similar fashion, the Australian Committee of Inquiry into Public Libraries has focused attention on the need for research in this area. A further good illustration of the seeming diversity of subject matter that is appropriately brought together is provided by the following research grant announced in the October 1975 issue of Information News and Sources, published by Science Associates/International Inc.

> ECONOMICS OF TECHNOLOGICAL INFORMATION
> University of California, Jack Hirshleifer, $45,200, 1 year, SOC75-15697. This study develops an integrated theory of information involved action and its consequences. The theory will be applied to the following topics: (1) liquidity preference and the term structure of interest rates; (2) speculation and efficient markets; (3) secrecy, patent, and copyright; (4) particular information, trade secrets, and insider trading; and (5) transferability of information.

The pervasiveness of the events creating the need for an economics of information can be indicated in a variety of ways. First, there are such all-embracing concepts as that of post-industrial society; second, there are seemingly narrow indicators such as the substantial proportion of gross national product accounted for by information activities, the growing percentage of the work-force employed in such activities, and the contribution made to economic growth; and third, we might look in an even more "micro-fashion" to the way in which individuals make their decisions.

A large information industry exists already. The awareness of its existence is not new: it can be traced in the writings of Adam Smith, Dugald Stewart, Thomas Hodgskin, John Rae, Karl Marx, and Frank Knight. Information activities do not satisfy all the norms of neoclassical economic reasoning with its heavy emphasis on a market system so it is no surprise that governments play a large role in research, education, telecommunications, and many other information processes. It is clear that the ambiguous notion of efficiency must be extended from production to prediction. All this has clear distributive implications: information, either through ownership or control of access, can determine which firms make large profits and which individuals have large incomes.

The need for information in decision-making may be as old as Olduvai Gorge but there do seem to be new aspects. The book may still be the most significant

TABLE 1. THE U.S. INFORMATION INDUSTRIES
(Approximate Gross Revenues)

(in billions of dollars)

	1970	1971	1972	1973
Broadcast television	2.8	2.8	3.2	3.5
Cable television	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5
Broadcast radio	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.5
Telephone	18.2	20.0	22.4	25.5
Telegraph	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5
Specialized common carriers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Satellite carriers	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Mobile radio systems	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.6
Motion pictures	3.8	3.8	NA	NA
Organized sports, theaters, etc.	4.4	NA	NA	NA
Computer software suppliers Computer service suppliers	1.9+	2.4+	3.0+	3.7+
U.S. Postal Service	6.3	6.7	7.9	8.3
Private information delivery services	0.7+	0.8+	1.0+	1.2+
Newspapers; wire services	7.0	7.4	7.8	8.3
Periodicals (including newsletters)	3.2	3.4	3.5	3.7
Business consulting services	0.9	1.1	NA	NA
Advertising	7.9	7.6	NA	NA
Marketing	32.4	37.7	41.3	43.4
Brokerage industries	40.6	47.4	54.4	NA
Book publishing and printing	3.4	3.7	3.9	4.1
Libraries	2.1	NA	3.6	NA
Schooling	70.0	76.3	83.2	89.5
Research and development	26.5	27.3	29.2	30.6
Federal information institutions				
Census Bureau	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
National intelligence community	4.0+	NA	NA	NA
National Technical Information Service	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Social Security Administration	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.4
County agents	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5
Banking and credit	61.1	68.9	76.9	NA
Insurance	92.6	103.5	121.4	NA
Legal services	8.5	9.6	NA	NA
U.S. GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT	977.1	1,055.5	1,155.2	1,294.9

Source: Program on Information Technologies and Public Policy: Annual Report, 1974-75, Vol. 2: The Program Year in Review. Harvard University, 1975.

development ever to have occurred in information technology but new and emerging developments in mass and individual communications, computer technology, audio technology, and image technology have enormous potential for bringing about change. Interactions are becoming more important. These interactions are of two kinds: interactions between technologies, for example, computers and communications; and interactions or interdependence among people. An alternative way of viewing this might be to say that information technology is becoming increasingly unitary both in terms of substitutes, for example, for the book, and complements, say, computers and books or computers and people. Furthermore, technological change has always been important for economic growth--even if it has too often been viewed as exogenous or arising from outside the system. Now it is the turn of the new information technology and it is being reflected in international trade and investment patterns and in the policies, both domestic and international, of many countries.

Edwin Parker has reported on the changes in the United States employment structure (Parker, 1975, pp. 12-14). He found the basic structural change since 1950 to be the growth of information occupations relative to industrial occupations. This trend was so pronounced that he concluded that United States society is "in the midst of a transition from an industrial society to an information society." Our research on the Australian information industry[2] gives similar results although the latest United States acceleration has not yet been matched. Information occupations as a percentage of the total work force doubled from 8.5 to 17.0 between 1911 and 1947 and then increased to 27.5 percent in 1971.

I shall eventually comment more directly on communication technology. Before doing so, however, I should like to turn back to the OSIS/NSF expression of belief that we need a theory of information transfer. While I agree wholeheartedly, I must sound a note of caution. Information transfer must be interpreted very broadly in contrast to the narrow interpretation that has been associated with the information theory tradition. Economics has a role to play in achieving this wider approach.

The "new" approach is to take an integrative view of information processing; to replace a fragmented approach in terms of individual technologies, markets, institutions, academic disciplines, and policy issues by an integrative view based on the concept of an information sector. This, like most "new" approaches, is an old idea. Two hundred years ago Adam Smith stated that the capital of society included "the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants." Almost a quarter century ago we could read in Schumpeter's History of Economic Analysis some sensible and very important remarks about the stock of capital. "This . . . stock of goods," he said, "is neither homogeneous nor an amorphous heap. Its various parts complement each other in a way that we readily understand as soon as we hear of building, equipment, raw materials and consumers' goods. Some of these parts must be available before we can operate others; and various sequences or lags between economic actions impose themselves and further restrict our choices;

and they do this in ways that differ greatly according to the composition of the stock we have to work on" (Schumpeter, 1954, p. 631).

The idea of human capital in combination with the structural considerations raised by Schumpeter point to a concept of the information sector. We should ask how various kinds of information, both the existing stocks and current flows, complement both each other and other resources. Can we say that those complementary relationships are readily understood as soon as we hear of books, data bases, computers, land lines, and satellites? Do we know which parts must be available before we can operate others? Do we know the various sequences and lags between economic actions imposed by modern information technology?

The first step must be a detailed functional classification of the sector's component activities: creation and collection; storing, retrieving, processing; distribution; markets; and other user groups. When such a classification has been clothed with statistics and they relate to a sufficient number of years, we can begin to study the complementarities, the sequences, and the lags both within the information sector and between it and other sectors. I am suggesting the need for the technique of input-output analysis, including its dynamic forms, to be applied to information processes. To date, even the best of input-output research has given us little more than the knowledge that a class of general inputs, including energy, transport, and communication, has been increasing in importance. The case for such an approach is strengthened by the accumulating evidence relating to the structural or linkage features of information processes. Such evidence relates to such varied phenomena as urban centrality, the interaction of science and technology, and the international transmission of ideas.

I shall use satellite developments for illustrative purposes and attempt to show briefly how the development of an economics of information can be helpful both in the positive way of bringing out analytical similarities and also in the somewhat negative way of providing warnings about problems for which we have no ready solution. I shall touch on costs, benefits, the unit of analysis, and the intertemporal character of the processes involved.

COSTS

Discussion of satellite programs can be relied upon to produce statements that we must have "the best"; that we are moving towards "the ultimate in satellite technology"; and that satellite access is becoming "inexpensive." Such statements reveal a lack of awareness of the resource limitations and the problem of social choice and a lack of historical perspective. In fact these two merge because economics can say little that is useful about technology and economic development unless it achieves an intertemporal dimension. More specifically, such comments reflect the fact that costs are to be met partially by someone else (for example, NASA carried the basic satellite cost of PEACESAT operations), a preoccupation with a dominant element of costs (for example, the spectacular downward trend of

investment cost per circuit year of capacity from Early Bird to Intelsat IV), or simply a complete failure to reckon at all with costs. I stress that whenever I speak of costs I imply a need to think in terms of alternative ways of achieving our objectives and about the alternative uses to which resources can be put.

Statements that a community deserves "the best" do not help. Is it the best currently available or the best that can be created? In either case, at what cost? If we think in terms of alternatives, we must ask whether it would be better to move people to another location rather than provide a communication system. Once we speak of community "rights" we are obliged to ask whether people in a remote area have a "right" to something better than what is available to the poor of the urban areas?

There is evidence of lower costs for larger systems operating in terms of existing technologies (Polcyn, 1973). As I noted earlier, some component costs have fallen, over time, in a spectacular fashion. This combination of economies of scale and cost reductions with new technology has generated expectations of change and the related belief that satellite service has become "inexpensive" and will become even more so. We must make sure that this is not based on a partial and misleading view. It is the cost of a unit of information flow that must be considered. Some relevant questions are:

Is it a flow to a "footprint" in a remote and sparsely populated area or to a coverage of one third of the globe's surface?

Is it one-way or two-way?

Is it telephone or television?

Is it an information product the community wants or an alien one that may be rejected?

Can the recipients afford the ground facilities?

Can the recipients afford the associated software?

Can the recipients produce their own programs?

What economies of scale and cost reductions are apparent for software?

Can the size of market for the services (or for software) be increased?

What time period is appropriate for cost calculations? (Continuity can be vitally important for costs and for welfare--as in medical services.)

Who meets the costs? (Cross-subsidization is a common feature of communication services.)

What alternative systems (including mixed systems) are available? (Communication technologies are increasingly interdependent. Satellite costs may be going down but so too may be the costs of alternative systems.)

What external effects will the planned developments in communication technology have? (Cost trends such as that of investment cost per circuit year look like real winners, provided we do not pay too much attention to the history of the automobile.)

BENEFITS

As my remarks about costs imply, cost-benefit analysis is not simply a matter of using compound interest tables. The real difficulty is identification of costs and benefits. Let me ask the question: Who gets the benefit of a satellite system? Heavy emphasis has been placed on the equality of access but equal access cannot be equated with equal benefits. Costs are not distributed equally and capacities to utilize access are not equal. In the development process there is evidence that participation may itself be restricted by shyness, apathy, lack of community interest, language problems, management policies that do not have local aspirations, or even time limitations. It would appear that some of these difficulties have arisen in the PEACESAT operation, and, of course, they have also arisen in citizen information services, extension services in agriculture and small business, and in the operation of both general and special library systems.

Even where participation is achieved benefits can differ in part for the above reason. More importantly, the benefits can differ both because of personal characteristics and related conditions, for example, assets, education, and working conditions. Analysis of these processes can be helped by Jacob Marschak's characterization of the information process: inquiring, communicating, deciding. Malfunction and reduced benefit will result from inadequacy at any one of these steps.

As a third instance, we might note the cases where participation, to a large extent, seems unnecessary, for example, communication for public health. In those cases the decision to provide the service and its detailed development are made elsewhere--unless local community control has been established. The decisions may well not be even closely related to the priorities of the recipients.

In broad terms we are so often presented with the argument that more information and more dissemination of information is good. I am saying that those processes can be productive of enlightenment, welfare, productivity, and profit. Inevitably, those very processes produce conflicts. In the resolution of the conflicts information can be used to create docility or hostility. The information society can increase or decrease inequalities of income and wealth. It can foster greater concentrations of power.

THE UNIT OF ANALYSIS

Much confusion and wasted effort will be avoided if attention is given to the unit of analysis. In terms of both costs and benefits the cost of a unit of information flow by using an identified system can be studied. The quality of service and its extent, that is, the population served effectively, must be taken into account. The interactions between that system and other systems must be investigated. In parallel fashion, the benefits must be established. On neither side of the relationship will precise measurements be possible. Nevertheless in reckoning both costs and benefits, the relevant community must be identified: it may be a household but it may also be a region, a country, or a group of countries. Above all, the global nature of the impact of communication technology must be more widely appreciated.

THE INTERTEMPORAL CHARACTER OF INFORMATION PROCESSES

Finally, I should emphasize that technological and economic processes often display a high degree of continuity. Cost analysis is greatly dependent in an obvious way on time considerations, for example, the life of a satellite. There are less obvious ways: cost reductions with new technologies impose a need to assess the cost of delay; and the effects on people, their acceptance or rejection of the new is often a slow process. In either case an economics (the old economics) that attempts to work with the basic assumptions of given technology and given tastes is apt to be misleading. The economics of information seeks to remedy that defect.

NOTES

1. See the companion volume in the series. Rosenberg, Nathan (ed.). The Economics of Technological Change. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971.

2. This was a study supported by the Australian Telecommunications Commission. See Barnes, J.M., D.M. Lamberton, and P. Considine. The Australian Information Industry.

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ASIAN CONTEXTS FOR DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION*

Daniel Lerner

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an essay in contextualization. It seeks to identify the scope and limits of the communication process now at work in Asian countries, an effort intended to move us toward the goal of more systematic identification of "parameters" for a "model." We are far from that goal now. It will take years of continuing interaction between Asian and American scholars to reach enough intellectual consensus on the context so that we can develop empirical research designs adequate for testing the particulars.

This paper takes as its starting point the perspective of the "policy sciences" as evolved by Harold D. Lasswell from his earlier work on value theory and the decision-making process (Lasswell, 1971). In this framework, communication is specialized mainly to the base value of enlightenment and to its interlapping base value of skill. As a general societal process, however, communication directly affects the shaping and sharing of all values. Communication is to a society and polity as money is to an economy--a measure of value, a medium of exchange, and a regulator of behavior.

Communication performs these critical functions within every society, whether the messages are transmitted by face-to-face oral means or by the impersonal "mass media," and regardless if the society is rich or poor, strong or weak, large or small. As the world communication network has grown more pervasive in recent years, so the intersocietal functions of communication have become more important. Among the issues that are salient in the contemporary world arena, we note particularly the communication relations between rich and poor, strong and weak, large and small--in short, between developed and developing nations. This is a set of intensely-felt issues in Southeast Asia today.

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*Adapted from SEADAG Paper No. 72-19 entitled "Communication for Development and Administration in South East Asia," New York: South East Asia Development Advisory Group [SEADAG] of The Asia Society, 1972. As the writer has sought to present here a synoptic version of development thinking he has elaborated elsewhere, the frequent citation of his own published work is intended to avoid superfluous repetition here by referring the interested reader to these more extended writings.

Accordingly, in the first section, we start our review of the historical context evolved over the past twenty-five years with a synopsis of the conditioning factors in the "world arena" before we turn to the "internal scene." The second section, which is concerned with the value context, highlights the "supreme goals" that are largely shared in developing Asia and the "value conflicts" that emerge as the nations of the region explore diverse means to their common ends. This leads naturally to the policy context, outlined in the third section, within which Asian decision-making seeks to cope with two interactive sets of issues: tempo and balance. The fourth section seeks to integrate the several contexts of Asian development in terms of the communication nexus. We conclude, in the final section, with a brief projection of alternatives gleaned from the future perspectives of qualified Asians and specialists on Asia.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

WORLD ARENA

Like every region, Southeast Asia operates within the world arena and is heavily influenced by it. I shall not dwell on the region's internal relations, which many understand far better than I do, but will simply remind the reader of some key factors in its recent history that provide an indispensable context for any understanding of its present and of its future. Perhaps the key to all the factors is the very brevity of this history and the extremely rapid tempo of its large events. It has only been during the last quarter century that Southeast Asia moved from imperialism to independence. This reflected a general restructuring of the world order that had prevailed in preceding centuries. Since 1945 the imperial system everywhere gave way to a new "world order" based on bipolarity. Between the United States and the Soviet Union, they divided most of the world into competing "camps" (Lasswell, 1945).

Bipolar structuring, while still important in world politics, in due course gave way to tripolarity, mainly under the impact of Chinese Communist leadership. For convenience, we trace this sequence from the date when the Chinese intervened in Korea. A major role for China in Southeast Asian affairs was certified in 1954, shortly after the Korean War came to an end, when China participated in the Geneva Conference that rearranged the political contours of what had been Indochina.

The next major step in tripolarity came with "de-Stalinization" in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, under Khrushchev, and the eruption of the Sino-Soviet conflict. As the Chinese embarked on a "super-power" course, their activities extended into Europe (Albania, Rumania) and into Africa (Tanzania, Madagascar). Along with its new "way-out" diplomacy, China undertook the equally "way-out" policy of nuclear development.

The great impact of Chinese "super-power" behavior was felt, naturally, in Asia. Its occupation of Tibet, and its military operation against India extended the sense of the "military presence" it had initiated in Korea. Its prevalence in creating the "spirit of Bandung" and its support of Asian guerrilla activities expressed its "diplomatic presence."

China's role as super-power in Asia now appears to have been certified by Mr. Nixon's visit to Peking. As tripolarity is certified, however, the restructuring of the world arena raises new problems that may lead to new solutions. Of particular import to Southeast Asia is the role of Japan. Will the trial balloons of Japanese-Soviet rapprochement lead to the formation of a new "quadrilateral" in the world power structure? If Japan is indeed to operate in Asia at the same level as the United States, the Soviet Union, and China, what are to be the consequences for Southeast Asia? Throughout my travels in the region, I have perceived fairly vigorous efforts to construct a variety of regional alternatives to cope with the changing structure of the political arena within which Southeast Asia must operate. Among these, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)--with its proposition of political neutralization or at least nonalignment--is among the most conspicuous. A dozen other regional organizations have come into being during the past few years, organizations which range in their concerns from high policy to operational routines. In the field of communication alone, some half-dozen regional organizations have come into being.

INTERNAL SCENE

Just as the world environment of Southeast Asia has seen several dramatic transformations during the past quarter century, so too have changes occurred in the structure of social life within each country of the region. Indeed, one can trace important connections between the external and internal transformations.

The typical sequence of internal transformation has followed a pattern from Independence Movement through Charismatic Leadership to Military Takeover.

Associated with each of these has been a rather deep psychological transformation affecting the sociological conditions, and indeed the "national style," of each Southeast Asian country. The independence movement typically led key segments of the population from apathy to aspiration. The charismatic leaders either created or nourished the famous (now notorious) "revolution of rising expectations." Only the communist charismatic leaders (Mao, Ho, Kim) have been able to contain the explosive rise of popular demands for a better life now. Those who tried to contain it in a less strictly controlled environment (Rhee, Sukarno, U Nu) were eventually forced from political leadership. Perhaps the most brilliant charismatic leader of Southeast Asia, Sukarno of

Indonesia, is the best illustration of the general point. It was under him, most clearly, that rising expectations were transformed into rising frustrations.

In one country after another, rising frustration expressed the failure to produce "instant modernization" of any Asian society. Where a program was ambitious, its performance was inadequate. Where the tempo was rapid, time was short. In most countries excessive expectation led, as the psychologists assure us that it must, to comparable patterns of regression and aggression. Regression has been most evident, for those concerned with communication, in the total or partial failure of educational and literacy campaigns. Aggression has been conspicuous in the recurrent outbreaks of ethnic and "communal" violence as well as in the coercive efforts of ideological movements, from which no country in Southeast Asia has been fully free.

Under these conditions, the transition via "military takeover" has seemed inevitable. Even those who dislike the military regimen in principle felt obliged, in most countries, to acknowledge that it has been necessary as a transitional mode of moving toward a stable polity. In most Southeast Asian countries today, the present scenario of military rule appears as "rational planning on trial." The military in these countries are usually the most developed social formation that can operate according to Max Weber's paradigm of bureaucratic-rational administration. Most profoundly, the issues thrown up by the military regimen involve the supreme values and goals in virtually all Southeast Asian countries.

VALUES CONTEXT

SUPREME GOALS

The supreme goals of every developing country are threefold: (1) to sustain a polity; (2) to develop an economy; and (3) to shape a society. Although these three goals are interactive and even inextricable, the lesson of the past two development decades is the primacy of the polity.

We have learned this lesson from the bitter failures of valiant efforts to modernize under the primacy of economics or technology. We no longer believe that modernization can be achieved simply by inputs of capital instrumented by technical assistance. We have deepened our appreciation of Ragnar Nurkse's insight into the "vicious cycle of poverty--a country is poor because it has no industry, and it has no industry because it is poor." To break out of this vicious circle into a growth cycle requires a social system in which economic growth can be achieved and sustained (Lerner, in Pye, 1963, p. 346).

My own historical foray into the economic development of the West has shown that modernization can be achieved only when the principal components of a social system--economic, sociological, cultural, political--"go together" in ways that seem inevitable or at least natural. If I may quote my own view:

"The Western model of modernization exhibits certain components and sequences whose relevance is global. Everywhere, increased urbanization has tended to raise literacy; rising literacy has tended to increase media exposure; higher media exposure has 'gone with' wider economic participation (per capita income) and political participation (voting). That this model evolved first in the West may be an historical accident. That the same basic model reappears in virtually all modernizing societies in all continents of the world, regardless of variations in race, color, and creed is not (Lerner, 1964, p. 41).

But no such model of a social system--and a fortiori no economic growth system--can be sustained without an appropriate political order. The primacy of the polity arises from its control over the distribution of all values. It is polity alone that can sustain the sense of social justice that is indispensable for any durable public order.

In a brilliant essay on this subject Pyong-Choon Hahm has traced the intricate and inevitable connections between modernization and the demand for social justice. Dr. Hahm starts from this proposition: "A pre-modern society is one in which very little social justice obtains. A modern society, on the other hand, is one in which more and more is done to meet the demand for social justice. The very reason why modernization is so coveted by every underdeveloped nation is because it promises social justice (Hahm, 1967, p. 133).

Dr. Hahm goes on to explain the primacy of politics over economics in these terms: "Without political stability economic development is not possible. An underdeveloped country that totally ignores the demand for social justice in the name of economic development will be able to have neither economic development nor political stability. The pent-up demand for social justice will explode into a series of revolutions, setting the country back several years with each revolution (Hahm, 1967).

The central ambition of every developing country, in this view, must be the establishment of a polity--a public order that is satisfactory, or at least acceptable, to the people who live under its regimen. This is no mean ambition. In the Western tradition, at least since Plato's Republic and Aristotle's Politics, the formation and maintenance of a polity has been regarded as the necessary condition for the emergence of a society, an economy, and a culture--more grandly, a civilization; more simply, a way of life. The reach of this ambition has thus far escaped the grasp of many, perhaps most, of the developing countries.

This is the central issue posed by the military regimes under which most of the world's developing countries live today. Societal reaction to military regimen has always been uneasy, for civil values typically stress freedom rather than organization. Influential opinion in developing countries today is skeptical, or at least quizzical, whether military regimes can actively move toward the establishment of a durable polity based on personal freedom as well as social justice.

The malaise arises because the military regimen is based upon coercion. The uneasiness persists, even under a military regime that is not felt to be unduly oppressive, because its control of the instruments of violence sustains the latent threat of coercion. The fear of violence, the sense that one may be coerced at any time, is the root of uneasiness under any military regime. For, to be coerced is, simply, to be forced to live in ways that one finds unsatisfactory or unacceptable. This psychic posture is untenable for people imbued with the pervasive populism that shapes the political thinking in most developing countries of Asia.

For populists--however rudimentary or refined may be the theoretical expression of their sentiments--the only legitimate source of a durable polity is consensus. It is for this reason that Edward Shils, in reviewing the transition from old societies to new states, has concluded: "Consensus is the key phenomenon of macrosociology" (Shils, in Geertz, 1963, p. 23). Consensus is the reciprocal of coercion in the operation of a polity: as consensus increases coercion lessens; as consensus decreases coercion rises. The ratio of consensus to coercion is a fair test of the viability and durability of any populist polity; the judgment will always be--consensus good, coercion bad.

It is from this reciprocal relationship that the great value conflicts arise in democratic societies and in the developing societies that cherish democratic ideals. Once again, Dr. Hahm provides a lucid exegesis:

> Social welfare programs are notorious in their propensity to raise consumption levels. In a mature capitalistic economy, such rises of consumption levels may be desirable. But in economically underdeveloped countries, it is propensity to save, not to consume, that desperately needs raising. To push ahead with social welfare programs is, therefore, to go against every rule in economic textbooks. But it is a political must. If political stability, which is essential for economic development, is to be secured, the demand for social justice cannot be denied entirely. A minimum of social welfare programs must be implemented. In the face of overwhelming political necessity, even economic common sense has to be compromised to a certain extent (Hahm, 1967, p. 136).

This formulates clearly the "primacy of the polity" in the development process, notably where economic and other values conflict with political considerations.

CONFLICTING VALUES

The conflicts between economics and politics that arise in most of the developing countries of Southeast Asia have been illustrated very concisely by Jerome R. Bass. He tells us that the Malaysian people "consider the diminution of political liberties a small price to pay for enhanced security (Bass, 1970, p. 157).

The value conflicts are diffused, even deepened, by ideologies of the left and right that compromise rational planning in developing countries. We are familiar with the continuing impact of traditional perspectives based on the criterion that things are best as they were, that change is dangerous and even impious. We have learned that such views are held not only by the landowning rich but also, often more tenaciously, by the poor peasantry. These perspectives are at least as pervasive among the isolated and illiterate as among the rich and fulfilled.

The attack on rational planning and development administration comes not only from traditionalism on the right, but also from the allegedly "radical" ideologies of the left. A particularly insidious form is the critique of economic development in Southeast Asia launched by the "New Left." As set forth in the highly evoluted dialectic of Herbert Marcuse, affluence is bad because it satisfies man's material needs and wants. In so doing, it deflects attention from his spiritual needs and wants. It thereby obviates his capacity for refusal, resistance, revolution--by making him a materialistic, "one-dimensional man."

This curious logic transforms the historic function of revolution and indeed of virtually all political action. Revolution has usually been conceived as a positive way to increase satisfactions for all of man's needs and wants, including his "material" desires. The Marcuse version sees the primary function of a revolution as decreasing man's material satisfactions in order to enrich his spiritual life.

It is small wonder that this topsy-turvy conception of historical process has sharpened value conflicts--particularly among teachers, students, communicators, and assorted "intellectuals"--in the developing countries of Southeast Asia (Hahm, 1967, p. 140). Nevertheless, as Mao has perceived more acutely than Marcuse (by going back to Marx), the drive to materialism persists. The military regimes are, for the present, the principal effort to give this drive rational expression in the political order of Southeast Asia. But the problems solved by military regimen are replaced by, or transformed into, other persistent problems of tempo and balance.

POLICY CONTEXT: TEMPO AND BALANCE

The formula "tempo and balance" was developed years ago by Harold D. Lasswell as a general, theoretical way of looking at problems of accelerated social change--the notorious "acceleration of history" publicized by European philosophers seeking to understand the succession of technological innovations and political "revolutions" in the developing countries of Western Europe and North America in the nineteenth century (Lerner, 1964, p. 60). This process of acceleration has become the policy norm for developing countries in the twentieth century--and nowhere more so than in Southeast Asia. For those who

wish to use the Western experience to understand and improve the Asian effort--by minimizing Western errors, maximizing Western gains, optimizing Western options--it is useful to recall the opening sentence of Lasswell's great classic: "Political analysis is the study of changes in the shape and composition of the value patterns of society" (Lasswell, 1935, p. 32).

As the great political theorist of our century, Lasswell conceived of "tempo and balance" as a way of meeting the objections by economists to their own idea of "dynamic equilibium." The economists, particularly after the Great Crash of 1929, could not find economies that grew rapidly while remaining stable. They rejected the troublesome idea of "dynamic equilibrium" and, using the fine conceptual and methodological tricks of their trade, pursued it under other rubrics more convenient for the analysis of developed Western economies. This is why "development economics" is now a stepchild of economics departments everywhere. The great "model" of economists has not yet been put to work in less-developed countries anywhere.

It was Lasswell's significant contribution, in separating the components of "dynamic equilibrium" into the more manageable categories of "tempo and balance," that helped economists out of their quandary. Under the conditions labeled "acceleration of history"--meaning rapid and erratic social change--how fast can the economy of a less-developed country (LDC) grow in Southeast Asia, and elsewhere, while maintaining some needed measure of political stability? What are the scope and limits imposed by "tempo and balance"?

Since I do not have a formula for the answer, I can only advise interested readers to consider this formulation of the question: How much of What can be done How Fast without putting an LDC into a jam? While this general question separates "dynamism" (rate of economic growth and social change) from "equilibrium" (maintenance of a stable polity) in a way useful for developed countries, I shall here briefly conjoin them to promote my proposition that communication and development administration must "go together" in the LDCs--particularly in Southeast Asia. This proposition hinges on the general hypothesis that, in the LDCs of Southeast Asia, the increase of resources and the distribution of their benefits must go together in a fundamental way. There must be bigger pies in order to make bigger slices.

Clearly, every development administration in Southeast Asia is concerned with increasing its resources--natural, technological, and human. These require different operations which are often not easy to coordinate. The location and extraction of natural resources puts every developing country into close cooperation with one or more developed countries. It involves the developing country's diplomatic, military, and cultural, as well as its economic, policies.

The increase and management of technological resources, indispensable for economic development, also require international cooperation on several

different levels, as economic programs interact more intimately and continuously with the developing social structure and the projected system of social relations. So, too, the increase of human resources requires export of LDC nationals for training support and import of foreign trainers, curricula, and materials (as shown in the chapter by Y. V. L. Rao).

We operate, then, in terms of a "development construct" of our ends and means (Lerner and Lasswell, 1951, Chapter 1 and 2). We have learned over the past two decades, that there can be no effective "transfer of technology" without some radical "transformation of institutions" (Lerner, in Hamilton, 1964, Chapter 1). The sustained use of new technological resources requires a substantial increase in the quantity and quality of indigenous human resources (Lerner, 1961). It is in connection with the multiplication of human resources that the communication nexus in development administration plays its role.

THE COMMUNICATION NEXUS: TOWARD DYNAMIC EQUILIBRIUM

A general view of communication assigns it the key role of shaping and maintaining a "dynamic equilibrium." I am aware that at least one prominent economist has judged the notion of "dynamic equilibrium" a contradiction in terms--one cannot have an object simultaneously mobile and stable--but we need not here be unduly constrained by this reducto ad absurdum.

In our view, communication (like development) is not an object but a process. It operates, therefore, not with a fixed coefficient but within a permissible range of variations. Even so, the communication assignment is difficult, for communication lends itself as readily to accelerating tempo--in developing countries more readily--as to maintaining balance. What is needed then is a basic reformulation of the role communication can play for development administration.

Some years ago, in describing the impact of communication upon empathy (psychic mobility), I examined this view: "the modern style of life can nowadays be acquired as a whole by individuals living in modernizing societies. This interpretation is quite plausible, but it does not clarify what happens to empathic individuals who are ready and able to modernize more rapidly and completely than their social environment permits. Our data on seventy-three countries in all continents indicate that many millions of persons everywhere are in this position" (Lerner, in Pye, 1963).

This referred to the transformation of rising expectations into rising frustrations then already becoming visible in the LDCs. More recently, reviewing his observations about Asia, Dr. Hahm has focused our attention directly upon the effect of inflationary communications upon populist and economic policy in the LDCs. He stated: "in a country where [the] capacity [of individuals]

to absorb information about the good life of the outside world, and hence to feel miserable and dissatisfied with their present living conditions, far outstrips material means to meet their expectations, amassing of individual fortunes will not be allowed even under the sanction of the profit motive" (Hahm, 1967, p. 139).

A compatriot and colleague of Dr. Hahm has converted this diagnosis into a prescription for the press. The supreme task of LDC communication, according to Dr. Ki Uk Han, is "to persuade and convince the people to help discipline themselves to compromise their slow material progress with the spiraling of mental expectancy, with the means available to them at a given state of national development" (Han, 1972).

These, then, are the supreme objectives of development communication: to meet the demand for social justice, to shape expectations in ways that maximize satisfactions and minimize frustrations, and to sustain a dynamic equilibrium between the socioeconomic and psychocultural components in a rapidly changing polity.

These objectives are often compromised by the ideological extremism of their allies as well as their adversaries. The allies oversell; the adversaries overkill. A public relations man for government information services in Singapore illustrates oversell: "Communication should be a key work in the vocabulary of development in newly emergent nations. With it most things could be made possible [sic!], but without it most things [sic!] would be practically impossible."* Overkill is illustrated daily by the denunciations of the New Left. In terms of our earlier discussion of coercion versus consensus as the organizing principle of a polity, we accept the judgment of Professor Shils that these "quasi-Marxists have contributed very little [to our understanding of consensus] because of their inclination to regard power, and above all coercive power, as a sole means of producing coordinated action" (Shils, in Geertz, 1963, p. 23). In this respect, we add as an hypothesis to be explored on another occasion, the probability that quasi-Marxist regimes often are even more damaging to development communication than military regimes.

The use of development communication to sustain dynamic equilibrium is difficult even in LDC regimes that pronounce their allegiance to the democratic ideal of a multivalent pluralist society based on social justice, economic growth, political participation, and personal freedom. Consider this statement by a "Number One Voice" whom it is no longer fashionable to quote, Chiang Kai Shek. At the entry to the Journalism Building of Chengchi University in Taipei these words are inscribed in the marble: "The launching, development, and maturing

*Personal communication

of our National Revolution in the past fifty years had everything to do with the application of mass communication. The progress or lagging behind depended on the insights extended and the efforts made by the mass media. When the endeavor of the media was congruent with the national development policies, the revolutionary process was accelerated; otherwise it was slowed down."

But such sound thoughts by "The Leader" are not enough. The money must go where the mouth is. In many countries of Asia the media are starved; in others they are stifled. Development communication is starved when the polity overloads it with freight it is not equipped to carry. Thus, Professor Hirunyaboosh, Chief of Information in Thailand, writes that "a cause that made the second plan incomplete and may well down the third plan is the inadequacy of public information services" (Hirunyaboosh, 1972).

He gives the example of a government expenditure of twelve million rai on irrigation canals--an important development initiative. But the investment yields mediocre returns in many Thai villages because the farmers are not informed that they must dig the "feeders" (runoffs to their own fields) themselves--nor are they told how to do it.

If development communication is starved by inadequate government allocation, it is stifled by excessive demands from government. The general Southeast Asian situation is described by Tarzie Vittachi, Managing Editor of the Asian News Service, as follows: "The liberty of the Asian press is being increasingly subverted. The Asian press now stands--some might say totters--in the twilight zone between the totalitarian and libertarian concepts of its role in society" (Vittachi, 1972). The bright spots of press freedom in Asian in 1972, according to Vittachi, were Japan, India, and the Philippines. But in the Philippines, press freedom was described by its friendliest critic as "a watchdog press which can only bark but not bite" (Hitchcock, 1970); it, moreover, competed outside of Manila, at least until the recent imposition of martial law, with two hundred radio and thirteen television stations. Nor, as of 1976, can one still point to India as a bright spot of press freedom.

It is on the note of competition among the media that we shall bring this discussion of the communication nexus for development administration to a close. We look next at the interaction of literacy, print, and the audiovisual media.

In general, literacy has been increasing throughout Southeast Asia, though at a slower rate than population in some countries. While there have been some serious failures to accelerate education, there have been some conspicuous successes which provide heartening evidence that rationally planned and programmed acceleration can work. Consider the data gathered by Paul J. Maynard on a regional U.S. Agency for International Development project in Laos (Maynard and Kraibon, 1969). (The awkward tabular version below was perpetrated upon Maynard by Lerner).

TABLE 1. PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN MUONG PHIANG, LAOS

	1962-1963	1968
Total population	6,107	8,726
Population 6-14 years (percentage of total population)	1,564 (26%)	2,397 (27.5%)
School attendance (percentage of 6-14)	537 (34%)	1,505 (63%)
Grades 1-3	506 (32%)	1,020 (42%)
Grades 4-6	31 (2%)	485 (21%)
Schools	12	17
School rooms	16	39
Teachers	17	39
Students per classroom	33.6	38.6 (p.19)

Among the striking features of growth over the five year period is the tripling of school attendance; even when population growth is taken into account there is nearly a doubling in percentage terms over this short time. The critical factor is the tenfold increase in grades four through six. These are the youngsters who are likely to acquire durable literacy.

A similar picture emerges from certain areas in Indonesia. A survey sponsored by the Ford Foundation there reaches certain important conclusions. Its author, C. E. Beeby, found that: (1) school dropouts before grade four do not retain literacy; (2) those who complete grade four retain literacy about as well as those who continue through grade six. He therefore tentatively counsels greater emphasis on grade four (rather than grade six) completions in the years ahead (Beeby, 1971). This finding may be directly linked to the simplified Indonesian language--surely one of the great communication inventions in Southeast Asia during the recent past--and it needs confirmation by further research. But it merits attention by all Asian school administrators concerned with optimizing scarce educational resources.

As literacy grows in Asia, however, a strange lack of comparable growth in the printed media becomes apparent. In virtually all Southeast Asian countries, as Amitabha Chowdbury points out, there is a "widening gap between actual

and potential circulation" (Chowdbury, in Lent, 1971). In Indonesia--where film production has zoomed from ten in 1969 to nineteen in 1970, and sixty-seven in 1971--daily circulation stands at 1.2 million, about one percent of the nation's population of over 120 million. A similar situation exists in the Philippines, where there are over two hundred radio and thirteen television stations, but daily circulation barely maintains itself at a half million (for twenty-eight million literates). The following table illustrates the present position in Southeast Asia.

TABLE 2. LITERACY AND NEWSPAPERS (IN MILLIONS)*

	Students In School	Literates	Daily Newspaper Circulation
Philippines (1963)	6.0	28.0	0.5
Thailand (1963)	4.5	14.0	0.3
India (1964)	45.5	114.0	5.0
Indonesia (1972)	10.0	50.0 (?)	1.2
Malaysia (1972)	2.0	75%	0.8

* Note: These figures are the best estimates I could obtain in rapid transit. There is a high probability of substantial error. The reader is advised to take seriously only the orders of magnitude represented.

In any case, Southeast Asia is far from the minimum standard set by UNESCO of ten newspaper copies per one hundred persons. The Southeast Asian rate hovers around, and often falls below, one copy per one hundred persons. Some corrective, however, needs to be made in terms of readership, said to be substantially higher than circulation in all Southeast Asian countries--the cost of a newspaper is relatively high so each copy sold passes through many hands. But the situation is still dismal, and the worsening ratio of circulation to literacy offers little promise for improvement in the years ahead. Survey Research Malaysia provides the following picture for West Malaysia, one of the most literate (and prosperous) areas in Southeast Asia (Malaysian Journalism Review, No. 1, 1972).

It is clear that even readership, to go beyond circulation, has not kept pace with increasing literacy. The daily press grew only fractionally, the weekly press remained inert, and the monthly press actually declined over the three year period--while radio and television show substantial growth. A clear and cogent analysis of this situation has been made by Jack Glattbach, Director of the Southeast Asian Press Centre in Kuala Lumpur (Glattbach and Anderson, 1971).

TABLE 3. LITERACY AND MEDIA IN WEST MALAYSIA BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION

	1968	1969	1970
Percentage of literacy (in any of 5 languages)	73	75	80
Percentage who:			
Read daily paper	47	48	49
Read weekly periodical	44	45	45
Read monthly periodical	33	27	24
Listen to radio (on an average day)	47	56	60
Watch television (on an average day)	27	34	40

The result, in many Southeast Asian countries, is an impoverished and deteriorating press. Journalists are ill-paid and survive only by moonlighting. Filipino "travails" are epitomized by Saban Singh, who writes: "My income as an insurance agent is ten times more than what I get as a correspondent" (Singh, 1963). In Laos, the editor-publisher of the only daily paper has ceased to distribute outside of Vientiane because the circulation is so low that revenue does not balance costs--and, he ruefully adds, "at that, they often don't pay me at all." While there are some success stories, the prospects for development communication in Southeast Asia are generally dim in the absence of new policy initiatives.

The problems of "tempo and balance" are persistent because they involve, beside the increasing of resources at a rapid rate, the managing of resources to ensure stability in the social order. The problems are product-focused (economy), people-focused (society), and process-focused (polity). As the primacy of the polity emerges, so does the "communication nexus" for development policy and personal behavior. We turn, now, to this array of concerns for Southeast Asia.

DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES AND POLICIES

My own thinking about the future needs of communication for development has been aided by several perceptive Asian communicators. Mr. Sumadi, of the Indonesian Department of Information, stated the core problem incisively to a 1972 East-West Center seminar on "The Role of Government Information in Development." He said simply, "There can be no effective development information without information development."

At the same seminar Aslam Siddiqi, Director of the Information Services Academy in West Pakistan, took the high ground that is needed if communication for development is to improve significantly in the future: "The training of Government Information Officers should start by clearing cobwebs in their minds . . . . The thinking processes have to change and new cognitive values and structures have to be acquired. This is a difficult task. And all the time, the national environments of these GIOs [Government Information Officer] will generate cognitive dissonance and will be working against them" (Siddiqi, 1972).

Accordingly, Siddiqi proposes that training give priority to the clarification and amplification of perspectives among Asian communicators. He would require all trainees to acquire a sense of their own role as rearrangers of the environment through a sequence of four basic courses: (1) The Role of Information Officers in Government and in the Community of Communicators; (2) Communication and Society; (3) Totality in Communication; (4) Effectiveness in Human Communication. Only then would they be allowed to proceed to the techniques and mechanics of their trade.

Only by rapid and widespread implementation of proposals such as these can communication for development become operative. The challenge to be met is nothing less than what John Montgomery has aptly designated as "the response-mobilizing and opportunity-generating functions of development administration" (Montgomery, 1972). It is the communication process that will shape the future development of the poor countries in Southeast Asia.

We perceive the communication process, in positing such a general conclusion, as the comprehensive conception of the symbolic life in developing countries. This includes the stories told to children at home by their parents and at school by their teachers, the speeches made by political leaders and the interpretations relayed by "opinion leaders," the "image" of a hero, and the "picture" of the future conveyed by all media of sound and sight.

Naturally, no such comprehensive conception of communication as the process for shaping and sharing all values in a developing (that is, rapidly changing) society can be unitary. Rather, it must be pluralistic if the society is to develop in democratic ways.

Pluralism is troublesome for administrators. It permits people to go different ways to reach the same goals. Yet, if we have learned anything from the Western experience of its own development, this conception of human freedom as the motivating power of development is a benefit well worth the cost of some administrative discomfort. I am persuaded by my conversations and readings that the leading thinkers and administrators of the Southeast Asian countries share this view.

If this perspective is to shape policy-making, Asian leaders will have to develop styles of public administration that can resolve the pervasive dilemmas of development. One set of dilemmas grows out of the historical context and reveals itself in the manifold and recurrent clashes between tradition and modernization. When defined as "our way" versus "Western ways," the conflict involves a hazardous struggle for identity. A "we versus them" identity syndrome lends itself readily to hostile projection onto all "others," even if they are only innocent bystanders to the inner conflict. Thus, in many developing countries, ethnocentrism has led to racialism and even xenophobia expressed in legal discrimination and overt violence against "alien minorities." Since these minorities often are among the more achieving segments of the native population, their repression is counter-productive to modernization. It certainly is a costly deprivation of the pluralist values needed for democratic development.

Another set of dilemmas originates in the economic context, where "nativist" movements harass both "foreign" investors and indigenous "aliens" in their (usually fruitless) efforts to grab bigger slices of the same pie for themselves. The only productive pluralist way to develop a poor country is to make bigger slices for all--by making bigger pies. A poor country can break out of Nurkse's "vicious circle of poverty" and into a "growth cycle" only by raising significantly the national level of "income per head" in measures commensurate with its national "output per head." This requires a reshaping of the Want:Get ratio in ways that are productive and stable because they produce an equitable distribution of values which sustains the pervasive demand for social justice.

This counsel is not idle moralizing. It is the most hard-headed lesson that LDC leaders have drawn from the past quarter-century of frustrating failure and energizing experience. In the view of the outstanding leaders of policy thinking and decision-making, the communication nexus between Asian contexts and development administration comes through loud and clear. It remains for other responsible Asians to follow their lead.

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